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REVIEWS

The
Antiquaries Journal

Romano-British Disc-brooches derived from
Hadrianic Coin-types

By R. G. Goodchild

It is only rarely that Romano-British brooches can be dated with the precision possible in the case of coins, or even of decorated Samian ware; their chronology is, more often than not, based on stylistic arguments, and even where stratigraphic evidence of date is available, the possibility of 'survival' is a serious impediment to the formation of definite conclusions.

It seems desirable, therefore, to draw attention to a series of disc-brooches, the 'applied' plates of which seem to be based directly on the reverse-types of certain Hadrianic coins, and which may thereby serve as a starting-point in the dating of these disc-brooches generally—hitherto a subject of considerable controversy.

During the excavation of a Roman bath-house at Wiggonholt, Sussex, in April 1937, the writer (assisting Mr. S. E. Winbolt) brought to light in a clearly stratified layer in the undressing-room a disc-brooch of the type under consideration.[1] The applied plate, though rather fragmentary, bore an embossed design very different from the Celtic curvilinear ornament normally met with on these brooches,[2] since it embodied a purely classical group of figures, with a pair of rearing horses to the left, an imperial eagle at the bottom centre, and a group of soldiers, with shields and standards, to the right (pl. 1, *a*).

The date of this brooch was defined within fairly narrow limits

[1] S. E. Winbolt and R. G. Goodchild, 'A Roman Villa at Lickfold, Wiggonholt', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lxxviii (1937), pp. 13–36. A second report is in preparation.
[2] E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, pp. 139, 142; R. G. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, fig. 64, 105.

by its stratification. The bath-house had been constructed at a date somewhere in the first quarter of the second century,[1] when a primary floor (A) of cement was laid in the undressing-room. After an interval of about fifty years, among other alterations a secondary floor (B) of the same material was laid about 6 in. above the primary one, the intervening space being made up with sand and debris, including a considerable quantity of coins as well as the disc-brooch itself. The latest coin found in the sand filling, and sealed by floor B was a *denarius* of Lucius Verus of A.D. 166; and the coins lying on the surface of floor B were mainly of Antonine date. Thus the sand make-up between floors A and B can hardly have been deposited later than about A.D. 200, whilst the material it contained, including the disc-brooch, was unlikely to have reached the site before the beginning of the second century.

In view of the unusual character of the brooch, it was decided not to publish it in detail in the report of the excavation, but to defer publication until comparative material was available. A close parallel was soon discovered in the three disc-brooches found by Mr. R. Nan Kivell at Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill, Wiltshire, in 1924, and published in this journal in 1931 (xi, 160–1).[2] The composite drawing which accompanied this description proved, at first sight, somewhat perplexing, because, although the Cold Kitchen Hill brooches were evidently related to the Wiggonholt example, the design on their applied plates appeared to represent a single horseman, armed with lance and shield, riding over a kneeling enemy—a theme familiar to numismatists through its occurrence on the plentiful coins with reverses of FEL TEMP REPARATIO type; and it was doubtless this accredited resemblance which led the late Mr. Reginald Smith to assign a fifth-century date to the brooches.

However, several details in this drawing, which was based on a composite reconstruction of three rather fragmentary applied plates, suggested that a re-examination might resolve the problem of the date of all three Cold Kitchen Hill brooches. By the courtesy of the authorities of Devizes Museum, the brooches were sent to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and were examined and photographed by Professor R. G. Collingwood,

[1] For dating evidence, based mainly on the coins, see the 1937 Report, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

[2] Described briefly in the 1924 Excavation Report, *Wilts. Archaeological Magazine*, xliii, 181, pl. II, A, B, and C. Detailed analysis in *Antiq. Journ.* xi (1931), pp. 160–1; whence description in *Devizes Museum Catalogue*, Part II (1934), p. 128, fig. 23.

together with the Wiggonholt specimen.[1] A careful scrutiny showed that the four brooches were identical in design, and the existence of *two* horses was confirmed, whilst the 'crouching enemy' of the Cold Kitchen Hill examples turned out to be the imperial eagle (pl. 11).

Thus, shorn of their reputed fourth-century features, the Cold Kitchen Hill brooches can no longer lay claim, even typologically, to a late date, and since they are identical with the Wiggonholt brooch, they must belong unquestionably to the second century A.D.

It still remained to trace the source of the design on these four disc-brooches, for in spite of its somewhat barbarized expression, the composition was clearly derived from some classical original. In view of the circular shape and the general arrangement of the various features, a coin prototype seemed indicated, and a search through the excellent illustrations of Mr. Mattingly's *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* provided a welcome answer; for the 'Adlocutio' series of *sestertii* struck by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 134–7 in honour of the provincial armies was found to embody the main elements of the Cold Kitchen Hill and Wiggonholt brooch designs. In spite of some minor divergences (described in detail below), there can be little doubt but that the workmen who embossed the plates for the brooches were influenced by the coin-reverse in question.

Any doubts remaining on the question of a numismatic origin for the designs on these disc-brooches were soon dispelled by evidence from an independent source. During the excavation of the east corner of the Forum *insula* at Verulamium by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther in 1935, a disc-brooch of similar pattern was found in disturbed soil.[2] Its applied ornament, though differing from that on the Cold Kitchen Hill and Wiggonholt examples, showed a design equally classical, in the form of a male figure leading a horse, the coin prototype of which was found, as in the case of the other examples, in the colonial issues of the Emperor Hadrian, whose Mauretanian series (of the same date as the 'Adlocutio' issue) provided a reverse type absolutely identical to the design on the plate of the brooch. Subsequent investigation proved that a second brooch, now in the British Museum, found many years ago at Kirkby Thore (Braboniacum), Westmorland,

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[1] The writer had hoped that Professor Collingwood would contribute his own views on the subject of these disc-brooches to this paper, but this hope was frustrated by Mr. Collingwood's recent illness and his abandonment of Romano-British studies.

[2] A. W. G. Lowther, 'Excavations at Verulamium in 1934', *Antiq. Journ.* xvii (1937), p. 46, fig. 7, 1.

was also based on this Mauretanian coin-reverse, although with a much greater degree of barbarization (pl. III, *a*, *b*).[1]

Thus there can be little doubt that in the second century A.D., presumably in the reign of Hadrian, a group of brooch-makers was deriving inspiration for its designs from the contemporary coin issues. It is not yet possible to state definitely that these craftsmen were working in Britain, though it is highly probable, and the occurrence of no less than three identical brooches on the one site at Cold Kitchen Hill suggests a possible location for the industry. Though the plates of the brooches could have been embossed by using the coin itself as a die, it is not likely that such a method was actually used, since both the Cold Kitchen Hill series and the Kirkby Thore brooch include features not apparent in the prototype.
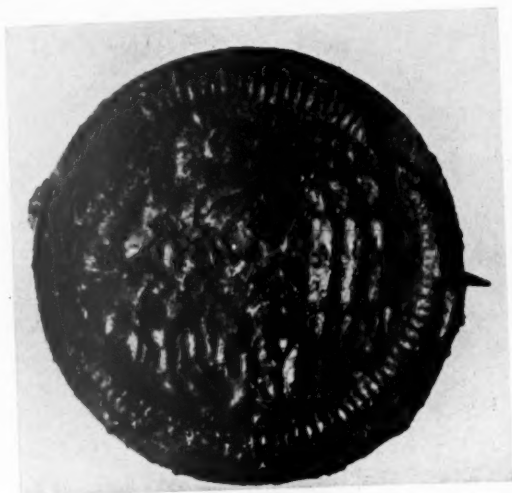
Nor is it certain that all four brooches of the Cold Kitchen Hill type are from the same die, for although Cold Kitchen Hill I and II and the Wiggonholt brooch appear to coincide in detail, Cold Kitchen Hill III differs from them in the shape of the eagle and the position of the horse's forelegs. Similarly the Verulamium and Kirkby Thore brooches, though evidently based on the same pattern, differ very considerably in detail: whilst the former is a fairly exact copy of the Mauretania coin reverse, the latter is greatly barbarized and includes a kneeling figure not on the original.

This imitation of classical designs by native workmen is rather surprising in a province which could boast a healthy native tradition of brooch-making, but it is perhaps typical of the enthusiastic if short-lived wave of Romanization which marked the principate of Hadrian in Britain. It is difficult to decide what factors, if any, led to the choice of the 'Adlocutio' and 'Mauretania' designs. At first sight the rather martial nature of the Cold Kitchen Hill design suggested the possibility that the brooches might have served as war-medals or victory-emblems, but the discovery of all four examples on civilian sites in the south, and the copying of the essentially civilian 'Mauretania' type, hardly confirmed this hypothesis.

Future discoveries and a search of museums in England and on the Continent may well add to the series[2] and solve these problems. In the meantime it is satisfactory to be able to fix in

[1] The British Museum register number of this brooch is 66, 9–21, 1, and it is figured in the *Westmorland* volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (p. xxxix, A 10), where it is incorrectly described as from Brough.

[2] An unpublished brooch in the museum at Chedworth Roman Villa, Glos. (National Trust *Guide* to the Villa, 1937, p. 10, no. 102), is similar in some respects to the brooches described in this paper, but it does not appear to belong to the same series.

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a. Disc-brooch from Wiggonholt, Sussex ($\frac{2}{1}$). *b*. Exercitus Britannicus coin-reverse of Hadrian. *c*. Exercitus Mauretanicus. *d*. Exercitus Syriacus

Pl. II

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a

b   *c*

Disc-brooches from Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill, Wilts. ($\frac{2}{1}$)

the second century the production of a series of brooches of a type which, with a change from naturalistic to curvilinear and geometrical designs, survived until the end of the Roman period, and may well have inspired the Anglo-Saxon brooches of the same type.

The writer is greatly indebted to Professor R. G. Collingwood for permission to reproduce his photographs of the disc-brooches; to Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland for information regarding the numismatic prototypes of the brooches; and to Miss M. V. Taylor and Mr. A. W. G. Lowther for their help in preparing the text of this paper.
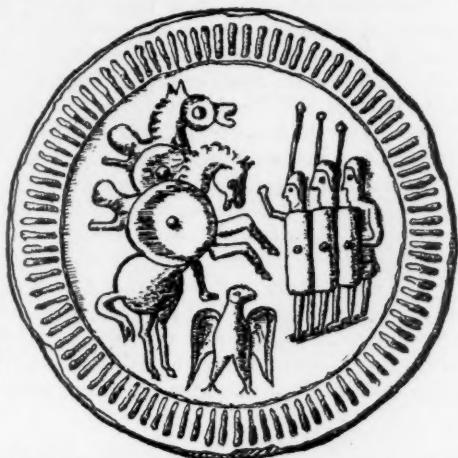

FIG. 1. Wiggonholt-Cold Kitchen Hill brooch-plate. Reconstruction (²⁄₁)

COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

A. *The Cold Kitchen Hill Type (fig. 1 and pls. 1 and 11)*

In size as well as in design the four brooches are practically identical. In the case of Cold Kitchen Hill I and II, the over-all diameter of the base-plate is 33·5 mm. (1·3 in.), whilst the diameter of the applied plate, within the ribbed border, is 26 mm. Cold Kitchen Hill III and the Wiggonholt brooch are, however, slightly smaller, their measurements being 32 mm. and 25 mm. respectively.

The three groups which form the design on the 'applied' plate, being the same in all four cases, are best considered separately.

1. *The two horsemen.*

This, the most prominent feature of the design, is best preserved on Cold Kitchen Hill I, which shows clearly the foremost horse, with its fore and hind legs, its head bent downwards, and the large circular shield, with central boss, which covers the centre of its body. On this brooch, however, the head of the second horse, though visible, is less distinct (which fact is responsible for the main errors in the composite drawing of 1931); but its form is best

shown on the Wiggonholt brooch, where the head is well defined, with its eye portrayed out of all proportion to the rest of the head.[1]

Just below this second head there appears, on all the Cold Kitchen Hill specimens, the upper portion of another circular shield, rather smaller than the first. The portrayal of these two shields presupposes that both the horses bear riders, and the heads and raised right arms of the latter are evident on Cold Kitchen Hill I and III, although no facial features are recognizable.

As regards the lance depicted in the hand of the horseman on the 1931 drawing (but not mentioned in the accompanying text), the only evidence for such a feature would appear to be a rather indistinct line on Cold Kitchen Hill I—probably a fortuitous indentation of the plate. The absence of any such 'lance' on the corresponding and well-preserved portion of the Wiggonholt plate argues strongly against its being an intentional feature.

One final feature of this group is perhaps worthy of mention: whereas all three Cold Kitchen Hill brooches portray the hindlegs of the foremost horse only, the Wiggonholt example clearly depicts a second pair of legs, rather less distinct. These—unless due to an error of execution—are presumably intended to belong to the second horse.

2. *The eagle.*

It was considered in the 1931 note a 'less likely interpretation' that the figure beneath the uplifted forelegs of the horse should be an eagle, but Professor Collingwood's photographs make it clear that this interpretation is in fact the correct one, and that the kneeling captive on the 1931 drawing is erroneous. The eagle is depicted partially on all four brooches with its head and beak turned to the right, and its wings folded.
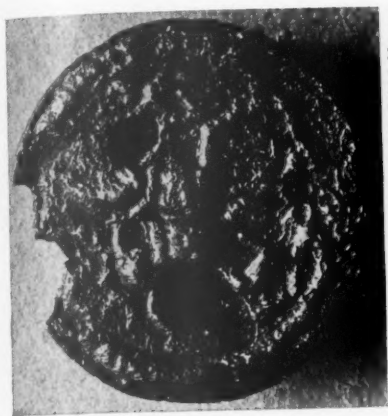
3. *The three soldiers.*

The Wiggonholt brooch removes any uncertainty as to the number and nature of the figures in the group on the right-hand side of the plate. Though the delineation is far from perfect, three heads (probably helmeted) are apparent, surmounted by three standards, and beneath them are three curved rectangular shields of the usual legionary type, with central bosses. Two of these shields cover completely the bodies of their wearers, though their lower limbs are visible beneath; but the left arm and back of the third, right-hand, soldier is shown.

All these features are duplicated on the Cold Kitchen Hill brooches, although their proportions and spacing differ slightly, the photograph of Cold Kitchen Hill II showing clearly that the representation of four civilian figures on the 1931 drawing is incorrect.

As was pointed out in the 1931 note, two of the Cold Kitchen Hill brooches (I and II) are identical in every respect, whilst the third is smaller and varies slightly in detail. The difference is most noticeable in the posture of the uplifted legs of the horse and the shape of the eagle. Whilst the Wiggonholt brooch corre-

[1] This feature is paralleled on the Uffington White Horse and the Aylesford Bucket, and seems to be typical of Celtic art. See *Antiquity*, v (1931), pp. 37-46.

Pl. III

Courtesy of the British Museum

b

a

c

a. Disc-brooch from Verulamium (²⁄₁). *b.* Disc-brooch from Kirkby Thore, Westmorland (²⁄₁).
c. Mauretania coin-reverses of Hadrian

sponds in dimensions with Cold Kitchen Hill III, in regard to detail of design it follows the other two.

The Coin Prototype.

The Cold Kitchen Hill–Wiggonholt type is, in the words of Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland (to whom the writer is greatly indebted for information and suggestions) 'probably a free adaptation of the "Adlocutio" series of *sestertii*, struck by Hadrian, *c.* A.D. 134/5–7 (early). This series, though minted at Rome, was undoubtedly intended for provincial absorption: it falls after Hadrian's journeys are finished, and gives expression to his life-long desire that the provinces should be regarded as performing a radical part of the imperial responsibilities. Hence these coins would naturally be put into circulation in provincial (as well as in "home") areas. The "Adlocutio" (horseman) type was struck with legends alluding to the armies of the following provinces: Britain, the Germanies, Cappadocia, Dacia, Mauretania, Raetia, and Syria. The type shows Hadrian mounted r., r. arm lifted (and horse's foreleg lifted), addressing 3 (or 4) soldiers carrying eagle and vexilla, or vexilla alone.'[1]

FIG. 2. Verulamium brooch-plate ($\frac{1}{1}$)

The variations between this type and that of the brooches are therefore: (1) Two horses instead of one. (2) Horses rearing instead of standing. (3) Riders armed with shield, instead of unarmed like Hadrian. (4) The eagle, not shown in the coin type. (5) The soldiers carry shields. On the latter point, Mr. Sutherland adds that in the 'Adlocutio' types where Hadrian stands on a platform, without a horse, his audience carry shields;[2] so that the brooch-designers may have—in this respect—combined elements from two prototypes.

B. *The Verulamium Type* (*fig. 2 and pl. III*)

Although the brooch from Kirkby Thore, Westmorland, provided the first example of this particular type of brooch, its bad

[1] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, iii (London, 1936), pl. 93, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, and 12.

[2] For example, the 'Exercitus Syriacus' type, Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, no. 13. The soldiers on this coin reverse are very similar to those portrayed on the brooches.

state of preservation obscured its derivation, and the Verulamium example was the first to reveal its numismatic origin. Both brooches measure 30 mm. (1·2 in.) in over-all diameter.

The left-hand side of the 'applied' plate of the Verulamium brooch has been destroyed, but the remainder is remarkably well preserved, and portrays a human figure leading a horse towards the right; the left hand of the figure is visible in front of the horse's neck, holding the bridle, and the horse's right foreleg is raised in the air. This feature occupies the whole of the area of the plate within the ribbed border, and there is no reason to suspect any subsidiary features such as are seen on the Cold Kitchen Hill design.

The Kirkby Thore brooch, on the other hand, shows several unexpected features. Though the bodies of the horse and its attendant are indistinct, the position of the horse's foreleg and the limbs of the human figure are shown almost exactly as on the Verulamium brooch, although the execution is much more crude. On the right side of the brooch is depicted, in front of the horse, a small human figure in a kneeling posture, the significance of which is obscure, and which does not appear on the coin prototype.

Whilst it is evident that the Kirkby Thore and Verulamium brooches are of the same type and belong to the same series as the Cold Kitchen Hill and Wiggonholt examples, the variation of detail is far more pronounced, and in the case of the Kirkby Thore brooch the barbarous element is greater.

The Coin Prototype.

The Hadrianic coin issue on which these two brooches are based is the 'Mauretania' series of *sestertii* of the same date and mintage as the 'Adlocutio' coins. In this series Mauretania is personified wearing a short tunic, advancing from l. to r., holding two javelins and leading a horse by its bridle.[1] In the case of the Verulamium brooch, its designer seems to have followed the original very closely, but the Kirkby Thore brooch follows the Cold Kitchen Hill series in its inclusion of a feature not on the coin.[2]

[1] Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pl. 95, nos. 2, 5, and 7 (to l.); 4 and 6 (to r.). Of these numbers, only 6 and 7 show the figure viewed centrally in front of the horse, and these two alone would be strict prototypes. It is to be noted that both 'Adlocutio' and 'Mauretania' types have variants to l. as well as to r., and though the plates of the brooches show the design to r., they may well have been copied from originals to l.

[2] This kneeling figure may not, however, be entirely the result of a whim on the part of the brooch-designer, as its posture is very reminiscent of the kneeling provincials depicted on the Hadrianic 'Restitutor' provincial coin issues (Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pl. 96, nos. 1–14).

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The Iron Age Horseshoe and its Derivatives

By GORDON WARD, M.D., F.S.A.

OUR ancestors were making horseshoes of a characteristic type at the very beginning of the Roman occupation. It was a highly developed type, and its elaboration, whether here or upon the Continent, presumably occupied many preceding years. It is this first type which it is proposed to describe as the Iron Age horseshoe. Its various characteristic features were slowly modified during succeeding centuries, but they were not finally lost until about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. From a survey of the various specimens which seem to have been in use during this long period there emerge derivatives of the Iron Age shoe, some of which are sufficiently distinctive to deserve the status of sub-types. Towards the end of the period we begin to meet with shoes which are medieval in their general characters, but which show that the technique of the Iron Age was still not wholly forgotten. Such specimens are conveniently described as transitional, but it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether individual shoes are genuine derivatives of the Iron Age shoe or examples of an entirely new, and possibly Norman, pattern, modified by traditional methods of manufacture.

The material upon which this essay is based has been found in public museums and private collections all over the country, and I should like to express my appreciation of the very great courtesy with which it has been placed at my disposal. I have examined more than 300 shoes of the class with which we are now concerned, and over 2,000 other ancient shoes which serve to illustrate later variations in technique and often throw light on earlier problems. Each shoe has been drawn and weighed, and every effort has been made to identify dated specimens. Where labels or other sources of information seemed to indicate a properly dated specimen, the exact details of its finding have been followed up by personal inquiry. Experience has fully borne out the opinion of Prof. T. McKenny Hughes (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Trans.* x, 249) that 'Horse-shoes have often been referred to Roman or Saxon times because their shape is different from those of our day, and Roman or Saxon remains have been found near. It requires great care to determine exactly the age of objects found in the course of ordinary excavations.' Very few of our museum specimens can stand the test of systematic inquiry. We are very fortunate to have even two shoes which can be assigned with confidence to the first century of our era.

The Gloucester Shoes

George Fleming, in his *Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing*, first published in 1869, on page 253, describes the finding of some shoes at Gloucester in the following words:

> In Northgate Street, at a depth of eight or ten feet below the present level, which is also the usual depth at which all other Roman remains, such as tesselated pavements and the like, are found, and some seven or eight inches below the pitched Roman road (*via strata*) were found a number of horse-shoes and other articles of the Roman period. Two of the shoes I had the opportunity of inspecting, and they correspond in every particular with those already described as belonging to this period. One of them is the most perfect specimen I ever saw. . . . The specimen weighs only 4¼ ounces, and is 4¼ inches long, and 3⅞ inches wide. The calkins are rolled-over in the usual way; the immense oval depressions for the nail-heads are stamped nearly through the substance of the shoe, and have been made by a blunt tool when the iron was very hot. The *round holes* pierced for the passage of nails appear to have been punched through when the iron was in a cold state, as the round holes in the horse-shoes are made at the present day in Syria, Turkey, and the East generally.

Fleming illustrates this shoe, on page 254, but the drawing is so stylized (fig. 1, no. 1) and, moreover, so badly reproduced, that one cannot feel that the finer details are correctly represented. This is of the less importance since the general type is perfectly plain. There is no shoe in the existing collections at Gloucester which appears to be that described by Fleming, nor do I know where it is now to be found.

It is perhaps permissible to supply the defects of Fleming's illustration by reference to a shoe which was brought into the Gloucester town museum quite recently. It was left by its owner for one day only, but during this period the Curator, Mr. Charles Green, made a most careful drawing which he permits me to reproduce (no. 2 in fig. 1). This shoe was found at the Cross in the centre of Gloucester City, at the intersection of four Roman roads of which Northgate is one. It was therefore found not far from the two shoes described by Fleming. A medieval cross stood here long ago. In 1933 excavations were made at this spot, and at a depth of about 14 ft. this shoe was discovered. Mr. Green tells me that this is the depth at which Roman remains are commonly discovered, but the shoe was not actually stated to have been in relation to any Roman object or road-surface. Like Fleming's shoes, it was in a particularly good state of preservation. Its present whereabouts is not known.

This shoe measured 4·1 in. in length and 3·8 in breadth, and

was in every way extremely similar to those described by Fleming. The details of its discovery are not sufficiently precise to allow of our dating it before the Roman road through Gloucester was built, which was presumably in the first century A.D., but no one
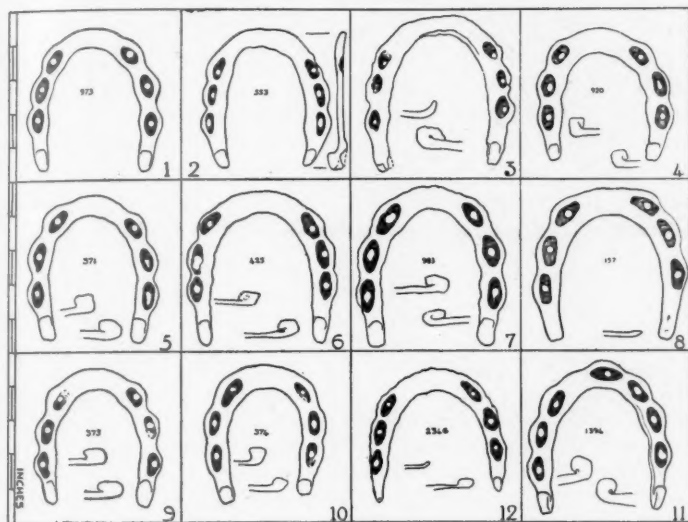

<p align="center">Fig. 1</p>

will deny that what little we do know of its discovery warrants our attributing to it a very great age. Evidence of depth is of little enough importance for dating purposes in areas which have not been built over, but in cities which have been continuously occupied for centuries objects have much less chance of sinking below their own proper culturals levels. This must be especially true of such a spot as the Cross at Gloucester, which has been an important centre of life and traffic since the Romans first planned it.

The Colchester Shoe

For information about this shoe and for permission to photograph it I am indebted to Mr. M. R. Hull, the Curator of the Colchester City Museums. He personally excavated this shoe on the Sheepen Farm site of Camulodunum, and is sure that it came from a layer of Claudian or pre-Claudian date which had not been disturbed since its deposit. It is to be dated at the very latest

A.D. 60, and may be considerably earlier. The shoe measures 4·5 in. long and 4·3 broad, and weighs 4½ ounces. Its general appearance is shown in fig. 1, no. 3.

The Saffron Walden Shoes

These two shoes are in the Saffron Walden Museum, Essex, and are of particular interest because one of them is a surgical shoe of unusual type. They were found in the year 1911, and Mr. Guy Maynard, now Curator at Ipswich Museum, was very fortunately present and made careful note of the circumstances. His original note seems to be no longer in existence at Saffron Walden, but in a personal communication he writes as follows:

> Allowing for the period of time which has elapsed—something like thirty years—I am confident that the horse-shoes came from the level which yielded a strip of ? Celtic bronze strap ornament thought by the British Museum authorities to have been part of the decoration of a shield. I know that I was present when the latter was found in the bottom of the trench in the swan meadows, and my belief is that the shoes and some fragments of 'Samian' ware came from the same level. I recall clearly that I had no doubt at all that this was the case. I kept a very close watch on the excavations and am not likely to have been misled. I have no notes here but my impression is that the bottom of the trench was 6 to 8 feet below surface level and was cut through peaty mud such as would form during the filling up of an open pool.

It is an undoubted fact that all sorts of iron objects tend to fall through peaty soil to considerable depths, and it is just possible that the strap ornament, the Samian ware, and the shoes were all deposited at different times but reached a common level. This possibility is considerably discounted by the fact that all these objects are such as one might expect to find deposited at the same time, and they do not appear to have been accompanied by objects of a different date. The evidence for the Saffron Walden shoes is thus something less than first class but, like that for the second Gloucester shoe, is impressive enough to earn their inclusion in this paper. The first shoe (a), disregarding the surgical bar, measures 4·4 in. long and 3·9 in breadth. Both shoes are illustrated in pl. IV.

The five shoes described, of which two are undoubtedly of the Romano-British era or earlier, have several points in common, and they are quite sufficient material upon which to base the descrip-

Horse-shoes from Saffron Walden, Essex (c. $\frac{2}{5}$)

tion of a definite type. Before passing on to this description, it may be well to anticipate the question, 'Are there any shoes of a different type for which such early dating evidence might be produced?' There are, indeed, many shoes described as having been found on the sites of Roman villas and camps but with regard to which there is no evidence of stratification or association with Roman objects in a sealed layer. They vary from shoes which may well be of the Iron Age to shoes which are certainly not older than the nineteenth century. They are of no evidential value. I have met with only one shoe which might suggest suppression of evidence did I omit to deal with it. It is in the Salisbury, South Wilts., and Blackmore Museum, but is not on exhibition. It bears on a label the words 'Britford Churchyard. Horse-shoe found by Jacob (?) when digging Mrs. Gilbert's grave, April 1930, three feet below Roman track metalling on south side'. The shoe weighs 4½ ounces, but is so coated with mud and rust that few details can be made out. There seems to be some doubt whether there is any Roman track at the place named. No good purpose can be served by further discussion of this specimen until the validity of its label and its real appearance are disclosed by local authority. I have not encountered any other shoe which ought to be mentioned here.

Description of the Normal Iron Age Type

The shoe is made from a bar of iron about half to three-quarters of an inch wide and about one-quarter inch thick. This is bent round until the two sides or branches are approximately parallel. The bend is so nearly semicircular that it seems certain that some sort of beaked anvil must have been employed, such, for example, as that which was found in a rubbish-pit at Silchester. The ends are usually bent back upon themselves, but there is great variety of treatment, and no one type of 'calkin' (which is the technical name for these ends) can be called characteristic of the type. There are three nail-holes in each branch. These are made in two steps. The first step is a deep impression made by an oval punch averaging about three-quarters of an inch in breadth and half as much in thickness. This punch is directed towards the outer side of the shoe and accordingly undermines and bulges out the outer side of the hole, giving the characteristically irregular shape to the shoe. At the bottom of this first impression there is a circular hole about a quarter of an inch in diameter. This goes right through the shoe and forms the real nail-hole. With the exception of the Winchester type, to be described presently,

there is no other horseshoe which has regularly a circular nail-hole, other than Arab and Eastern types which will not cause confusion.

The hoof surface of the shoe is flat and shows no particular features except the slight deformity of the outer side of the circular holes due to the direction in which they were sometimes punched, in conformity with that of the countersink.

It is worth noting that this Iron Age shoe was technically a very good shoe. It allowed the horse to walk flat and it wore well, as the even wear of the nails often testifies. It was somewhat weak in front, where the greatest stress is experienced, but this is a difficulty that we have not yet overcome in spite of the use of steel. It is remarkable that for something like a thousand years (as seems probable) after the disappearance of this type, horses in this country were plagued with concave shoes, heavy shoes, exaggerated calkins, and numberless other devices; and it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the importance of a light, flat shoe was again recognized.

The Fiddle-Key Nail

It happens that none of the normal Iron Age type which can be dated is accompanied by nails, but there are many others of the same type in which nails remain. The nail has an oval head flattened from side to side with the shank joining the longer side. The shank is quadrilateral where it joins the head, and is about 1 in. to 1½ in. long, so far as can be ascertained from surviving specimens, few of which are complete. The half-inch nearest the point is flattened until it is almost ribbon-like. The point is sharp. This nail lacks the most important feature of modern nails, namely, a slight concavity on one side which assists to bring it out on the hoof surface instead of passing into the soft parts of the foot, and a flattening of the shank throughout which is associated with it. It is probable that the difficulty of driving this nail at the correct angle through the horny hoof was responsible for the outward direction of the countersinking of the hole. A very similar nail is used to-day in India for affixing ox-shoes, which also have holes of the Iron Age type; but the shank of the nail is round instead of rectangular.

The head of the fiddle-key nail is too large to be accommodated in the countersink and at least half of it projects beyond the surface of the shoe. It must have formed an admirable 'anti-skid' device until the nails were worn down. This happened as a rule before the more massive calkins had been much affected.

Why not a 'Roman' Shoe?

The question whether the Romans used nailed-on horseshoes has been thoroughly investigated by Bracy Clark in his *Essay on the Knowledge of the Ancients respecting the Art of Shoeing the Horse and of the probable period of the Commencement of this Art*, of which a second edition was published in London in 1831. He concluded: 'Though it was certainly not the custom of the ancients to shoe their horses, yet they appear at times to have had recourse in difficulties, and in cases of abrasion, to artificial defence, probably of the most simple kind.' He then dealt with the 'solea ferrea' and other varieties of shoes and sandals for horses. His views have been generally accepted, as was perhaps inevitable, since no description of a nailed-on shoe has been found in any Roman writer, and their treatises on veterinary matters seem never to mention such a thing. On this matter it may perhaps be permitted to make a further quotation from Prof. McKenny Hughes (*loc. cit.*): 'All the supposed references to horse-shoes in ancient writers are either obviously founded in error or can be easily explained away.'

In face of such opinions one cannot well speak of a Roman horseshoe, and no one has attempted to produce a classical type of horseshoe from Rome, or its sculptures, or literature. But there can be no doubt that many Roman citizens had seen the nailed-on horseshoe in use, especially those resident in Gaul and Britain. It is even probable that light cavalry, recruited from amongst those with whom the use of such shoes was habitual, may have continued to use them in the Roman service. The shoes, of Iron Age type, found in the Roman riding-ring at Saalburg, were perhaps brought there in this manner. It may even be admitted that the petty chieftain in Britain who used horseshoes may have become a Roman citizen, and his horseshoes thereby entitled to the same sort of distinction. But except for such idle instances we cannot accept any sort of horseshoe as Roman nor, for that matter, as Greek. Shoes of the Iron Age type are found in Britain and, on the Continent, from Germany to France and Switzerland. Whence the pattern came has yet to be determined, but it seems clear that the descriptive name, 'The Iron Age shoe', is accurate in itself and also convenient, since it does not seek to support any particular theory of origin or usage.

It is unfortunate that we have not in this country any undisturbed Iron Age site from which any shoe has been reported. The future may remedy this defect, but the article which we find in association with Roman objects is so complex and so

standardized that we must allow its evolution to have taken many years in this or some other country.

Variants within the Normal Iron Age Type

In about 5 per cent. of this type there are seven instead of six holes, the seventh being placed in the centre in front (fig. 1, no. 11). In these cases the shoe is commonly larger and heavier than usual.

Another common variant has one branch appreciably longer than the other (fig. 1, no. 10). It is difficult to say whether this is due to bad workmanship or good intention. The latter explanation is perhaps the more likely, for a lengthening of the outer branch would tend to give greater protection to the hoof where it is most needed, and the same device is sometimes employed at the present day.

There is no doubt that surgical shoes adapted to the needs of diseased or deformed hooves were well known in the Iron Age. The Saffron Walden shoe (fig. 5, no. 55 and pl. IV) has a large bar to support what, in man, we might call a flat foot. There is a shoe at Winchester (fig. 5, no. 56) which has a similar bar, but it is extended forward also and reaches the edge of a seventh hole in front. Although one calkin is missing, this shoe weighs 11 ounces. Another shoe at Winchester (fig. 5, no. 58) has one branch much shortened so that it has only room for two holes; while one at the London Museum (fig. 5, no. 59) resembles it but has only a single hole on one side. Both of these would have been used for horses with corns, and such surgical shoes are still used for the same purpose.

In addition to these variations many curiosities may be found, e.g. a shoe with only two nails on each side but with a fifth hole in front (fig. 5, no. 61), and a shoe with an extra hole properly countersunk from the hoof surface. The variations mentioned all fall within the main type and again show how highly developed was the art of the farrier when first we meet with it in this country.

The Winchester Type

The general appearance of this type is shown in fig. 2. The shoe is made from a flat piece of iron, an inch or more broad in most cases. As a result of this original choice of material we find an almost complete absence of bulging sides and a very shallow countersink. The type is also peculiar in that the countersink is usually much more square than in the normal Iron Age type, and in the absence of calkins, or their presence as mere rudiments incapable of exercising any influence on the functioning of the shoe. In size and weight these shoes approximate to the normal

type. The nails are of the fiddle-key fashion, but commonly smaller than the countersink.

No specimen of this class can be dated on the evidence of satisfactorily recorded excavation; but there is one point about the
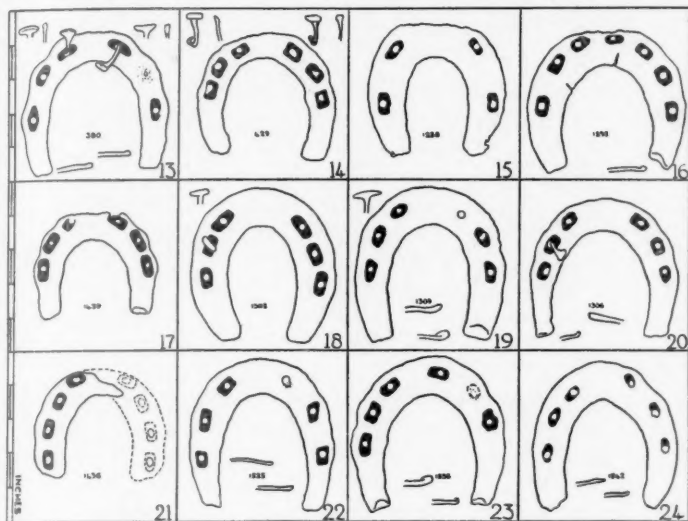
shoes found at Winchester which is certainly worthy of record. Mr. C. J. Mogridge has carefully watched two particular excavations there, one at the city bridge and one at the east gate. Both seem to have been carried through peat and mud to old river channels. Many of the shoes found were taken away by workmen, and may be found in other collections besides those at Winchester. The associated finds at Winchester are predominantly Saxon. There are, for instance, many small scramasaxes which would suggest a middle Saxon date at earliest. The predominant shoe in the lower levels is of this Winchester type. In no other spot have so many of this type been recorded so far as I am aware. My records show:

15 shoes from Winchester;
4 from London;
1 from Coventry;
1 from Little Weighton, East Yorks.;
5 from unrecorded sites, of which 1 is at the Guildhall and 4 are at Norwich.

It must be agreed that this is wholly insufficient evidence of Saxon

date, but it is to some extent supported by other facts. The Winchester type is stylistically of later date than the normal Iron Age type which was in use in the Roman era. In 104 specimens of the latter type there was not one with 4 holes on each side. In
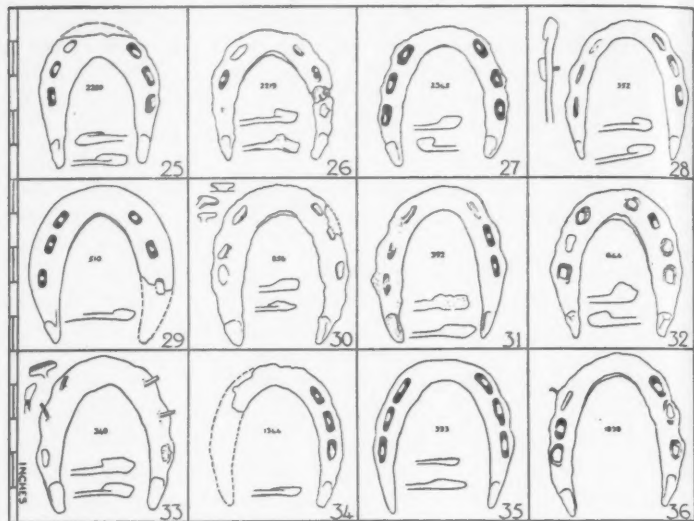
26 of the Winchester type, one had 4 plus 4 holes. In later types it is common to find this number of holes. Again, the fact that the countersink is square or nearly square betokens a development from the oval shape of the earlier type. It also is common in later types, but unknown in the normal Iron Age shoes. The Winchester type is known on the Continent, but the evidence available to me is not enough to give its distribution there.

To sum up the Winchester type, one may venture to point out that it is apparently of later date than the normal Iron Age type, and that there is some slight reason to suppose that it is so much later as to fall well within the Saxon era in this country. To this it may be added that the type is slightly connected with the type used in the Roman era, but seems to have no similar connexion with later types in this country. The flat Winchester shoe seems to die out without producing any descendants. It might well represent a newly imported fashion which failed to find any long acceptance here. In view of its relative frequency at Winchester (so far as is at present known), it is tempting to suppose that it

was the house of Cerdic which introduced this shoe. We do not even know that the house of Cerdic favoured horseshoes of any type, so it must suffice to record what is a very distinct and well-characterized type without pretending that the little we know about its date and distribution can form a basis for anything better than guesswork.

The Derived Types

Although the Winchester type does not seem to be derived through identifiable stages from any other shoe in use in this country, there are many other types which can be traced by a series of intermediate forms back to the normal Iron Age shoes. I propose to call these the derived types. They fall into three main groups:

(a) Those which differ from the normal Iron Age type only in the fact that the nail-hole is rectangular instead of circular.

(b) Those which have a rectangular and countersunk hole but differ from the Iron Age type in other particulars, e.g. in the possession of eight holes, in the absence of bulging at the sides, and in exhibiting shapes not seen in the earlier types.

(c) Those which retain only the principle of countersinking to remind us of the Iron Age type, but which are in other respects similar to medieval shoes.

It would be easy to subdivide each of these groups; for example, some of the last group have fiddle-key nails, while others have the spiked nails which we see represented on medieval seals. But these groups and sub-groups are not convincing. They merge into each other. If one selects some one or two characteristics and arranges together all shoes which exhibit them, the result is not a homogeneous group but a collection of diverse patterns having only these two points in common. Fig. 3 is such a group. Two points were selected, the presence of rectangular holes and the pointed ends of the branches. The result is a series of shoes differing in almost every other particular, although there is at first sight a superficial resemblance which is almost entirely due to the shaping of the calkins.

We can only say of the derived types that they include all stages in the transition from the Iron Age type to the early medieval, and that they all have rectangular holes. The lines of transition may be set out as follows:

1. The iron bar from which the shoe is made becomes thicker and broader. The workmanship deteriorates. At the end of

THE J.B.SHELTON COLLECTION OF
HORSE-SHOES FROM
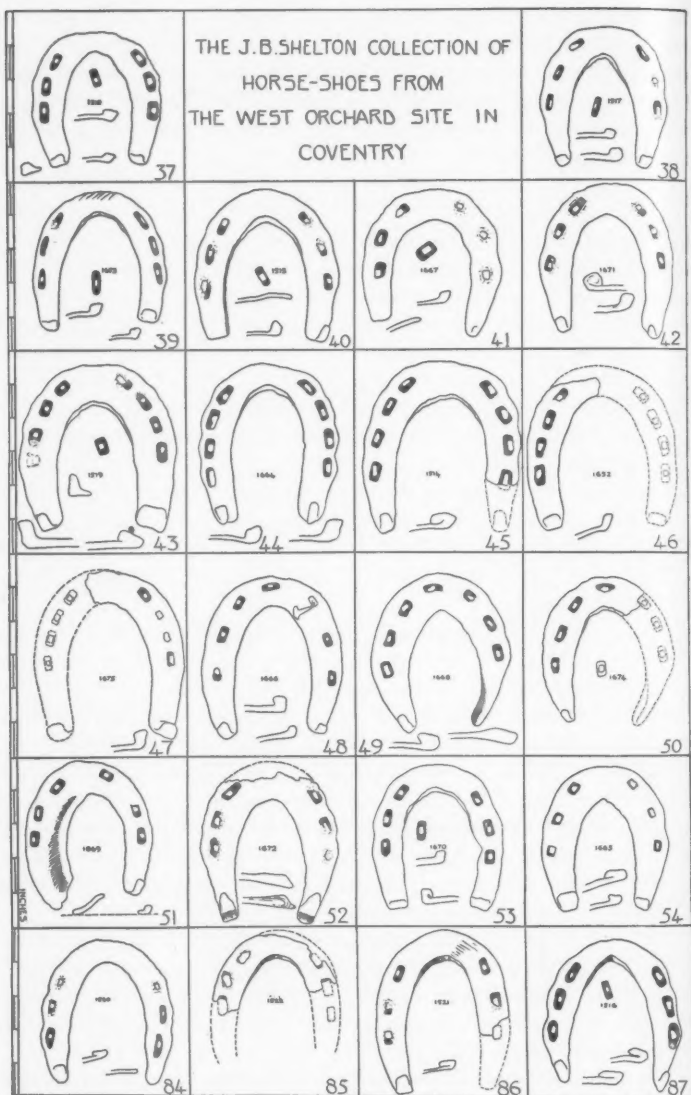THE WEST ORCHARD SITE IN
COVENTRY

FIG. 4

the series the bar is so much wider in front as to suggest that this is intentional. The wide semicircle usually shown in Iron Age shoes is narrowed and may be distinctly angular, as if the beaked anvil had gone out of use.

2. The countersink ceases to be oval and becomes more and more rectangular. It is narrower than heretofore. It becomes at last a useless fashion in no way adapted to the nails actually used with it.

3. The nails continue of the fiddle-key type except that now and then one meets with some remnant of a nail which seems to have been cut out of a flat piece of iron with the chisel, rather than forged like the true fiddle-key nails. These cut-out nails are T-shaped.

4. The hoof surface remains flat until towards the end of the series, when it tends to become concave. This is probably not intentional but rather the natural result of taking too little care in bending round the two sides of the shoe.

5. The number of holes increases from the usual six, and occasionally seven, to eight. But the eight-hole shoes were presumably for larger horses and the six-hole shoes still remain the most frequent; the central seventh hole becomes less common.

The West Orchard Shoes

Mr. J. B. Shelton of Coventry has for many years watched all excavations in that city and has, in his private collection known as the Benedictine Museum, a great number of interesting finds. Amongst these are twenty-two shoes from a site known as the West Orchard site. This West Orchard, now built over, was formerly a water meadow on the banks of the river. Through this meadow there ran a track which crossed the river at a ford. When modern excavations were carried down to the site of this ford the twenty-two horseshoes were found. Their importance lies in the fact that it may eventually prove possible to date them within fairly narrow limits. They form, besides, a most interesting and varied series, linked together by a particular method of forming the calkins, which is highly suggestive of local workmanship and tradition.

Drawings of the twenty-two shoes are shown in fig. 4. There is no example of the normal Iron Age type, and no example of the Winchester type. There is not even a shoe with that marked bulging of the sides which is seen in the earliest shoes with rectangular holes. But the series has several points of interest. The first to be considered is what one may conveniently call the

'Shelton' type of calkin. In most shoes the calkin is formed by turning back the whole breadth of the bar from which the shoe is made. In the Shelton type we have only a half calkin, i.e. the appearance presented is as if only half, or less, of the end of the
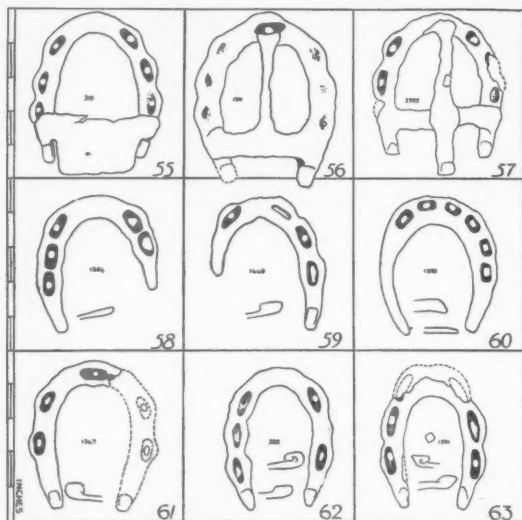

FIG. 5

bar had been turned back. This appearance is produced by beating the calkin over to one side of the branch, and this is just such a trick as might appeal to some individual blacksmith, although it does not seem to have had any particular practical use. It is present in 13 of these 22 shoes. I have not seen as many as 13 examples in 2,000 shoes from other sites. A second point to be noted in this series is the very high proportion of shoes with seven holes, that is, 3 out of 22. In 321 shoes of the series dealt with in this paper, from other sites, there were only 17 with the seventh central hole, so that this type is three times as frequent at West Orchard. A third point for consideration is the fact that there are 5 shoes with eight holes, and this again is an unusually high proportion. There were only 20 eight-hole shoes in the remaining 321 shoes mentioned above. Lastly, we may note the presence of a single shoe (no. 54) of typical medieval type, lacking the countersinking of the others. There is another which is medieval in all but the nail-holes (no. 52).

How far do these facts help us to date the series?

The entire absence of the normal Iron Age type, and of the

type of shoe found associated with Roman remains, suggests that we must place the earliest date after the flight of the Eagles in the fifth century. It may well have been much nearer our own time, since the Winchester type is absent.

The latest date would seem to be in the early medieval period. The earliest dated shoe after the conquest, so far as my knowledge extends, is that in the Carisbrook Castle Museum, Isle of Wight, and this is not countersunk but was found close to a nail of fiddle-key type. It was found in a midden by Gerald C. Dunning, F.S.A., and dated on the evidence of the associated pottery about 1150 (*Proc. I. of Wight Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 1937, ii, part viii, p. 680).

These wide limits of date allow of some further limitation. The high percentage of seven- and eight-hole shoes suggests that the West Orchard ford was being used by heavy goods traffic, and the frequency of the Shelton type of calkin makes it appear that the horses were shod locally. Was there ever an occasion for heavy local traffic over this ford enduring for a comparatively short time and terminating early in the medieval period? If we could provide a complete answer to that question, we could date the West Orchard shoes. We cannot go quite so far as that at present, but we can be reasonably certain that the traffic ceased when the adjacent bridge was built. There is a record of the existence of this bridge in 1448, but local research would probably bring us much nearer to the date of its first construction. While awaiting this information, we may put on record the fact that the West Orchard meadows, through which ran the track to the ford, belonged to the Benedictine monastery which was founded in Coventry in 1043. It is quite possible that it was actually the building of this monastery which occasioned the traffic across this ford and provided Mr. Shelton with his horseshoes. The date 1043 would seem to fit in well enough with the types of shoe found, but the foundation charter, alas, makes no mention of fords or bridges, although it conveys a gift of tolls which would make the building of a bridge exceedingly convenient to the collectors (Kemble, *Codex. Dip.* 939). There is no harm in conjecturing, so long as one realizes the pitfalls of the process, that the whole of these West Orchard shoes were lost in the ford during the building of the great Minster of Leofric and Godiva.

The Latest Derived Types

Fig. 6 shows twenty shoes, from various sources, exhibiting the last stage of the Iron Age tradition. Numbers 64–7 and 73 have pointed nails of medieval type combined with countersinking into

which the nails could not fit. Number 81 has a fiddle-key nail, but very small holes which could by no means accommodate nails of this sort. It must be borne in mind, however, that many of the

Fig. 6

shoes illustrated in this paper were much encrusted with dirt and rust, and may not be correctly represented in minor details. Number 79 has an altogether exceptional profile, while no. 69 is possibly a surgical shoe. Several of the shoes transgress the boundaries of the 5-in. squares in which they are contained, and no. 78 is of such remarkable size and weight (over 9 ounces in its damaged condition) that it must be of comparatively recent date, perhaps as late as the sixteenth century.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to discuss in any detail such shoes as are shown in fig. 6, but rather to bring them

FIG. 7. Distribution of ancient horseshoes in England

forward as evidence of the long endurance of Iron Age tradition and practice.

A Distribution Map

Although over one hundred of the shoes dealt with in this paper are of the normal Iron Age type, the number of sites from which such shoes are certainly known to have come is not large. In many cases labels have been lost or decayed, or shoes have been accepted as gifts from uncritical collectors or their executors. The

certain sites are indicated by solid squares on the map. Open squares are only evidence of the present resting-place of museum specimens, which may be more or less plausibly conjectured to have come from the immediate neighbourhood of such museums. London raises special problems and has been treated as a single locality, although all the shoes did not in fact come from the same part of the county.

It is obvious that sites may have been overlooked in counties from which few shoes have been examined. To keep what check is possible on this source of error, each ancient shoe, of any period, examined is represented on the map by a dot placed in the appropriate county. London again produced a problem, since it was not found possible to fit in more than a few of the dots which its small area ought to contain.

An Historical Deduction

This essay is a preliminary study of the British material at present available for a survey of the history and development of the Iron Age horseshoe. It demonstrates that there was a distinctive type of shoe in use here when the Romans came, and that the influence of this same type can be traced without interruption right down to the time of the Norman Conquest, and beyond. The Winchester type, which failed to survive, alone suggests the importation of any new technique during this long period. The cultural continuity thus brought to light stretches right across the dark ages, and argues a persistence of population and habits which has obvious historical importance. The distribution map affords a further hint of great interest. It strongly suggests that this type of shoe was never in any sense 'Celtic', if by the use of that adjective we accept modern topographical and linguistic implications. It may some day be possible to make a more complete map, but until then we have no evidence that the Iron Age horseshoe was ever known or used by the primitive 'Celtic' peoples. In the meantime, the lesson of the horseshoe seems to be this—that the Saxon invasions caused no westward displacement of any appreciable section of the population. The once acceptable idea that the dark ages saw a steady shift to the west of a Celtic people whose place was taken by victorious Saxons finds no support at all in the history of the Iron Age horseshoe.

Hippo-Sandals

No discussion of the Iron Age horseshoe would be complete without some mention of what are usually known as hippo-sandals. The character of these contrivances is well known and has often

been described, e.g. by M. Xavier Aubert ('Évolution des hippo-sandales: essai de classification rationelle', in *Revue des musées*, Dijon, 1929). They are frequently spoken of as 'Roman', but their geographical distribution is that of the Iron Age horseshoe, and has no relation to that of any Roman culture. This point is of importance because it tells us that the hippo-sandal was not a substitute for the nailed-on horseshoe but was used, in some way supplementary to it, by those who were well acquainted with the normal type. George Fleming (*Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing*, 1869, pp. 298–332) was one of the first to give detailed attention to the types and possible uses of hippo-sandals. He was an eminent veterinary surgeon who had himself travelled on horseback through many parts of the world, and had spent all his professional life amongst those who had to do with horses. He also studied those classical and European authors whose works bore upon the subject of horseshoeing. He illustrates more than a score of hippo-sandals and gives it as his opinion that such appliances could never have been worn by working horses. This is an opinion which cannot be disregarded in the absence of any contrary opinion backed by similar authority. There are two alternative uses which suggest themselves as possible. In this and other countries one may occasionally encounter examples of shoes or other contrivances which have been attached to the hooves of horses working in marshy places to prevent their sinking too deeply into the ground. Such contrivances serve the same sort of purpose as snow-shoes. The same purpose has been suggested for hippo-sandals, but it does not seem that they are really adapted to that end. They would not spread the weight to an appreciable degree and they have side, front, and rear projections in no way adapted for that purpose but large enough to hinder the animal's movements. A more probable suggestion is that hippo-sandals were used as hobbles. A horse is hobbled nowadays by tying the front feet together, but we do not know that this simple device had occurred to our Iron Age ancestors. It is possible that they might have regarded it, if suggested to them, as a dangerous and undesirable device, or, perhaps, as one only to be expected to obtain amongst the least desirable social classes. However that may be, it is undoubtedly possible, and not improbable, that the hippo-sandal was used as a convenient means of preventing horses from straying. But this theory, which did not originate with the writer, must not be supposed to have earned his whole-hearted adherence. The truth is that we have yet to discover any satisfactory evidence in the light of which we might finally dispose of the hippo-sandal problem.

Note on a Type of Spanish Altar-ornament

By W. L. HILDBURGH

IN Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were employed, for the adornment of the altar, certain objects which would appear, although perhaps originally designed for another purpose, to be closely related to the altar-cards now commonly (and even in the sixteenth century to some extent) a feature of the celebration of the Mass. Their employment would seem to have been fairly extensive, since a good many examples, of one kind or another, still survive. The Spanish name for them—*sacra*—is the same as that for the altar-cards, three in number, now ordinarily set upon the altar in Roman Catholic churches, in other countries as well as in Spain; and, correspondingly, the name I have heard applied to them in English is 'altar-card'. They are of considerable interest, not alone because, as often, of their design or their workmanship, but also, seemingly, from their position as relics of a step in the liturgical history of the Roman Church in Spain.

In pl. v is reproduced an example of this type of altar-ornament. Although in form it strongly recalls Spanish art of the late sixteenth century, the type of lettering on it seems to indicate for it rather a date in the early seventeenth. It is a particularly pleasing specimen of Spanish silversmith's work of a period when the abundance of precious metals—following upon the great conquests of the Spaniards in America—still gave conspicuous encouragement to the silversmith's craft. As indicative of that abundance, a small detail in the construction of the object seems worthy of note; the stout rod by means of which its several parts are held together appears, although completely hidden from sight when the pieces are assembled, to be a solid bar of silver and thus in conformity with the visible parts, all of which are (excepting for the surface gilding of the initial letters of the first two lines of the inscription) entirely of that same metal. It consists of a rectangular plate carrying the wording—intaglio save for the two capital 'H's, which are in relief—'Hoc est enim corpus meum | Hic est enim Cálix sánguinis | mei noui & etêrni testamênti | mystérium fidei: qui pro vobis | & pro multis effundêtur in re | misiônem peccatorum', enclosed within a moulded frame decorated with scrolls and vase-shaped ornaments of cast silver, attached to a support consisting of a tall baluster-like stem rising from a broad shallow base. It is practically complete, excepting

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Spanish Altar ornament

Pl. VI

Hoc est enim corpus meum

Hoc est enim Calix Sanguinis mei noui
et æterni testamenti mysterium fidei
qui pro vobis & pro multis effundetur
in remissionem peccatorum.

a

b

Spanish Altar ornament

for the terminal—presumably a small cross[1]—of the central finial, broken off and lost after it had entered the possession of a late owner, to whom it had come (about 1915) from a family whose estates were some fifty miles from Valladolid. Since it was made at a time when Valladolid was one of the great centres for the production of Spanish silversmiths' work, there is a distinct possibility—which I consider supported by both its general style and its details—that it was made in that town;[2] unfortunately it, unlike so many pieces of Spanish silverwork of its period, bears no marks to indicate either its maker or the place where it was made. It is at present on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

There is in Burgos Cathedral an analogous object, for use on the High Altar, which technically and artistically is a member of a certain large group of ecclesiastical objects (and secular objects as well) of various kinds made in Spain of the first half of the seventeenth century; it is of massive silver, delicately engraved in parts, heavily gilded, and adorned with applied small silver bosses in low-relief covered with translucent blue and yellow enamels. The tablet of this, bearing the same set of words as the tablet of pl. v, is supported by a stem formed of cylinders of several different diameters and attached to a large shallow foot analogous to that of pl. v, and is surmounted by a small cupola-like piece terminating in a cross.

Belonging to the Cathedral of Toledo is another object of the same kind, which was shown in the 'Museo' of Spanish art at the great Barcelona International Exhibition of 1929–30.[3] In this two kneeling angels, of Late Gothic type, hold up a square frame of silver-gilt enclosing a smooth silver plaque, exactly fitting it, inscribed with the same words, written in precisely the same forms of lettering as on the plaque of pl. v, but (due to the square shape of the plaque) in more lines (necessitating different divisions in some of the words), and with some small differences in minor details.[4] As the lettering—which (I judge through a direct com-

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[1] The statement of the owner referred to, to the effect that the terminal was a small cross, seems to be substantiated by the little cross terminating the analogous altar-ornament (see *infra*) in Burgos Cathedral.

[2] I was unable to ascertain whether the object had originally been made for the family which sold it, or whether perhaps it was an acquisition, from some religious institution, by one of its members who collected Spanish silverwork. In either case there is a strong presumption that the object was made in Valladolid or in its vicinity.

[3] It was no. 2817: 'Sacra gótica de plata dorada. Pertenece al Ilustrísimo Cabildo Catedral de Toledo.'

[4] There are commas separating single words from each other, particularly in the

parison between the object itself and the photograph reproduced in pl. v) suggests that the two plaques may well be from the same hand—so differs in style from the style of the angels, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Toledo plaque was made to replace something else which the angels originally supported.

A third object[1] of the same sort is reproduced in pl. vi *a* (front) and *b* (side). In this, the inscribed plaque is of rock-crystal in which are cut, in the same type of lettering, the same words as on other *sacras* of the kind, together with two small castles and two small lions (probably representing the arms of Castile and León), a small heraldic beast (seemingly a wyvern), and five leafy sprays of flowers (presumably roses). Round this is an ornamental frame, of gilded iron, supported by a stem of rock-crystal in the form of a fantastic animal, on a base of gilded bronze. The object, although not of silver, seems, through its general design, the type of its lettering, and its castles and lions, to be closely associable with the two *sacras* described above.

In the Diocesan Museum in the cloisters of Tarragona Cathedral is a *sacra*, made presumably in the second half of the sixteenth century or at the very beginning of the seventeenth, constructed of wood overlaid with sheets of very thin silver, which have been backed with a kind of gesso, whereon the ornamentation has been impressed in low-relief; it consists of a square tablet, about 18 in. on a side, on which appear the same words as on the *sacras* already cited, and above them an oblong portrayal of the Last Supper, set directly on a base about 21 in. long and 4½ in. high.[2]

There is, in the Capilla Real at Granada, a silver *sacra*, rectangular in form and bearing the same formula as the *sacras* I have dealt with above, whose style—as I recall it—assigns it to the sixteenth century. Concerning its purpose, the sacristan there told me that at times it was used in the place of the ordinary card customarily set, during the Mass, in the middle of the altar, the celebrant then reading from a missal instead of from the printed card.

I have seen, in an antiquity shop at Valladolid, analogous *sacras* made of wood, considerably later in date than the silver ones above touched upon; they were triangular in section, resting on one side as base and with the usual brief group of words painted on the inclined rectangular front.

first three lines; the *e* of our *etérni* is replaced by the more usual *æ*; there are ◇ -shaped dots above some of the letters; *remissionem* has the second *s* proper to it; etc.

[1] Bought, unaccompanied by any history, in Paris, in 1929. At present on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] I have an impression—though I am by no means certain of it—that the *sacra*, next referred to, at Granada is similar to this.

On a paper *sacra*, in Valladolid Cathedral, analogous to the *sacras* we have discussed, the formula commonly alone on such objects is followed by 'Haec quotiescúmque fecéritis, in mei memóriam faciétis'. In that cathedral is, also, a printed altar-card on which appears the full text ordinarily given on the middle card, but with the particular group of words so often found isolated, on ornamental *sacras*, signalized by being printed wholly in capital letters instead of in the type used for the rest of the text.

Sacras such as those which, up to now, have held our interest, although apparently formerly fairly common, seem to have been to a large extent superseded at present by the middle one of the three altar-cards (which, as we have already observed, are also, in Spain, called *sacras*) very generally used in Spanish churches. Of these latter we are told, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (i, 351), that

> To assist the memory of the celebrant at Mass in those prayers which he should know by heart, cards on which these prayers are printed are placed on the altar in the middle, and at each end. They were not used before the sixteenth century, and even at present are not employed at the Mass celebrated by a bishop, who reads all the prayers from the Pontifical Canon. At the time [about 1570] that Pius V revised the Missal, only the card at the middle of the Altar was used, and it was called the 'Tabella Secretarum' (tit. XX). Later, another was added containing the Gospel of St. John . . . and placed on the Gospel side. For the sake of symmetry, another containing the prayer 'Deus qui humanae substantiae' . . . was placed on the Epistle side. Only during Mass should the cards stand on the altar . . . At any other time they are either removed or placed face downwards on the altar under the altar cover. When the Blessed Sacrament is exposed outside of Mass, the cards must be removed.

The *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (i, 142), giving much the same account, but in an abridged form, says that

> Their introduction dates from the sixteenth century, when the middle card began to be employed as an aid to the memory of the celebrant and to relieve him of the necessity of continually referring to the missal. . . . Since most of these prayers on an altar-card are to be said secretly or inaudibly, altar-cards are sometimes called secret-cards.[1]

The late Mossèn Gudiol, himself a priest, in his learned treatise on Catalan ecclesiastical antiquities,[2] suggested the possibility

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[1] The late Rev. Father Thurston brought to my attention X. Barbier de Montault's long note, in *Revue d'Archéologie poitevine*, ii, 149 *seqq.*, on 'Les Cartons d'Autel de l'église de Jaulnay (Vienne)', which is principally concerned with two printed cards of the eighteenth century, but gives some further details of the history of altar-cards in general.

[2] *Nocions d'Arqueologia Sagrada Catalana*, by Josep Gudiol i Cunill, Vich, 1902; a second edition, amplified (in part at the expense of some condensation) and to a

that the diptychs for religious purposes, which went out of use in the Romanesque period, may have initiated the form of *sacras* for the altar; but he observed, also, that in Catalonia few early notices concerning altar-cards have come to light. He mentions there an account (*compte*) of Vich Cathedral, of the fifteenth century, referring to the inscribing of the Canon of the Mass on a parchment, though it does so without indicating that the product was an early form (*un principi*) of the *sacras* whose purpose was to aid the memory of the celebrant and to supply the proper words at certain moments when it was inconvenient for the priest to turn the leaves of the missal. He adds that in the inventories of the end of the sixteenth century, made in connexion with parochial visitations, there are often to be found references to a single *sacra*; and that these references make a clear distinction between places where there was *una sacra* and those where there was *una sacra romana*, whence it would appear that the latter term signifies a *sacra* conforming to the Roman liturgy and doubtless introduced with the properly Roman missal. An inventory of Montserrat, of 1640, speaks of 'a *sacra* of silver with the words of consecration on a triangular foot weight two marks and a half'[1]—an object presumably of the same sort as the *sacras* of our pls. v and vi. In 1671 a silver *sacra* was made for the High Altar of Vich Cathedral, payment for which covered the writing of the text. Gudiol's earliest Catalan record of the use of three altar-cards is dated 1691, and refers to Vich. In the Episcopal Museum at Lerida is a *sacra* which may be considered to be an intermediate form between the single *sacra* and the set of three separate cards; it has the form of a triptych, whose middle section carries the part of the Mass referring to the consecration and the prayer before the last Gospel, and whose side sections carry the 'Credo' and certain prayers and the beginning of the Gospel of St. John (compare with the French altar-card, of 1545–7, described on p. 36 below).

For Galicia, we have a number of interesting records.[2] The

certain extent revised in the light of fresh material, with 620 illustrations (almost all in half-tone, from photographs), was prepared and brought out by his nephew, Senor J. Gudiol i Ricart, in 1931. The section on altar-cards—'*Sacres*'—is on p. 482 *seq.* of the original edition; and, greatly condensed, on p. 481 of the revised edition.

[1] *Ibid.*, 483, quoting from vol. ii of the little periodical *La Veu del Montserrat.* F. Durán, in 'La orfebrería Catalana', in *Revista de Archivos*, xxxiii (1915), 286, quoting Gudiol, unfortunately gives the date misprinted as '1460'.

[2] Those I cite below, from A. López Ferreiro's *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, Madrid, v.d., have been brought together by J. Villa-amil y Castro, in his *Mobiliario litúrgico de las iglesias gallegas en la edad media*, Madrid, 1907, 390, under the heading of 'Sacra'.

earliest of these, in a document detailing the duties of the chaplains of Santiago, dated 22nd February 1472, which mentions the word *sacra*, does so in a context whose meaning appears to be somewhat obscure; its passage of particular interest to us says, in specifying a chaplain's duties when assisting a *cardeal*[1] in the celebration of the Mass, '. . . et compoer o cales de uiño et agoa et ostia et estar con el administrandolle eno libro a misa et sacra et ha de dar a pas . . .'.[2] The obscurity of this passage is peculiarly vexing, for if we could be certain that the word *sacra* in it is indeed a noun, the passage not only would be by much the earliest reference I have found to an altar-card, but by implication it would instruct us as to the nature of the object referred to—it seems very improbable that a card carrying the Canon of the Mass would be used in addition to the celebrant's *libro*—and give us stronger reason for believing what we at present have, so far as I know, only reason to suspect, namely, that tablets inscribed with the words of the consecration were the forerunners of the middle cards in general use to-day.

A considerably later record, but one still of seemingly early date in the indisputable literary history of altar-cards, is that of 1554 relating to the Marqués de Villena y de Moya, who, when he accompanied Philip II to Santiago, presented 'to the Holy Apostle', for use exclusively at the High Altar, a '*tabla*' of gold, in which were inscribed the words of the consecration, mounted on a thin board of black wood (*hébano*)[3]—seemingly a *sacra* of the kind illustrated in pls. v and vi. Another record especially interesting to us is that of a gift—apparently a *sacra* very similar in construction to the one belonging to Toledo Cathedral and exhibited at Barcelona in 1929 (cf. *supra*)—by Archbishop D. Gaspar de Zúñiga, in 1567, to Santiago Cathedral, in the form of 'Una tabla grande de plata con un pie proporcionado y dos ángeles á los lados del mismo metal; lo qual, todo pesó doce marcos. En la tabla se hallaban grabadas las palabras de la consegración'.[4] Another 'sacra con las palabras de la consegración' was presented, at some date after 1572, to the same cathedral, by Ambrosio de Morales.[5]

The peculiarly sacred character of the Mass had led ecclesiastical authorities, centuries before there seems to be any trace of an altar-card, to make strict rules that the celebrant should not

[1] 'Cardenal', here one of seven Canons of a certain dignity in the Chapter of Santiago; not a Prince of the Church.

[2] Cf. López Ferreiro, *op. cit.* vii, 138 of the 'Appendices', giving section V of Appendix XXXIII.

[3] *Ibid.* viii, 163.   [4] *Id.* 236.   [5] *Id.* 427.

trust solely to his memory for the long and elaborate formulae he had to recite, but should have before him, for continued reading or for the prompting of a possibly treacherous memory, exactly the words required for the proper carrying out of the solemn rites.[1] It would appear that the employment of altar-cards, devised to avoid the turning of leaves of the missal at inconvenient moments of the service, long preceded the ecclesiastical regulations concerning them. We are told[2] that even in liturgical documents in which (as in one of 1484, and in another of 1535), since they relate to the Mass, we might well expect—plenary Mass-books having by their time long been in use—to find references to the *sog. Canontafeln*, there appears to be no trace of them; and that it is only from the *Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts an*, through the records of the Synods of Milan (1576), Aix (1585), Avignon (1594), and some other (cited) places, and through certain liturgical records, of later dates, that we first obtain documentary information concerning them. And, further, that the synodal records above cited speak only of the one 'secret-card', in the middle; that a second card, with the Gospel of St. John, is already known to the *Kirchenschmuck* of 1591; and that Gavantus (1646) says that in some places a third card, on the Epistle side, contains the psalm 'Lavabo'.

Against these dates we can, without going outside the cases above cited, set definitely the golden *sacra* bearing the words of the consecration, given to Santiago Cathedral in 1554 by the Marqués de Villena y de Moya, the similar silver *sacra* given by Archbishop Gaspar de Zúñiga in 1567, and presumably also the one given by Ambrosio de Morales 'after 1572'; and, although not with equal confidence, the parchment inscribed for Vich Cathedral, at some time in the fifteenth century, with the Canon of the Mass, and the instruction for the chaplains of Santiago, including the mention of a *sacra* (if such indeed it was) of 1472. The gap between our two earliest precise dates—1472 and 1554—

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[1] Thus, in England, 'By the Canons, temp. King Edgar, it was ordered that a priest should never celebrate Mass without book, but that the Canon [of the Mass] should be before his eyes to see to, if needed, lest he mistake . . .'; cf. *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiastical Society*, i (1881–5), 165.

[2] In Andreas Schmid's *Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck*, Regensburg, 1871, 355 *seq.* This excellent work, citing exact references for its statements, presents the most comprehensive account of altar-cards (under the name of *Canontafeln*, a name seemingly less embracing than our corresponding term 'altar-cards') I have as yet found. In addition to the historical summary on p. 355 *seq.*, it gives on p. 429 *seq.* information concerning the proper forms, the clear type to be used in the printing, the advisability of protecting with varnish or with glass, the framing and the designs of frames, and the care, of altar-cards.

while somewhat disquieting, need by no means constrain us to reject the possibility that the earlier one relates to something, whether carrying the Canon of the Mass or no more than the words of the consecration, of the nature of an altar-card. On the one hand, such evidence as we possess seems to make clear that, at powerful Santiago, *sacras* were used before the Church in general had formulated regulations concerning altar-cards, and, further, there seems no good reason why we should associate especially the gift of 1554 with the, presumably casual, introduction of their use in the cathedral; and, on the other hand, there is a piece of pictorial evidence,[1] from Flanders of some three to four decades before 1554, for what appears to be decidedly an altar-card. This is a minutely detailed picture of a celebration of the Mass, in a superb manuscript copy, in the Imperial and Royal Court Library of Vienna, of the 'Hortulus Anime',[2] illuminated at (or in the immediate neighbourhood of) Bruges, presumably within, and certainly not more than a year or two later than, the second decade of the sixteenth century.[3]

In this picture there appears, leaning against a plain screen at the back of the altar, and behind the chalice, a rectangular triptych on which are lines of lettering (in the picture simulated by indecipherable marks) in black and, larger, in gold, presumably representing a text of some considerable length (i.e. not merely the words of the consecration) rubricated in gold. In the Fitzwilliam Museum there is an altar-card of similar triptych form, of parchment bound in tooled leather, which, on grounds of its style, is ascribed to Italy of the sixteenth century; it has been written with a pen, with the words of the consecration in capital letters, and adorned, as to its central section, with a miniature of the Crucifixion and one of the Last Supper, and, as to the borders beyond the text on its wings, with representations of beautiful birds.[4]

There is an altar-card of very similar character in the Naples Museum, made in the Abbey of Fontevrault for Charles of

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[1] I have to thank Mr. Hedley Hope-Nicholson for bringing this picture to my attention.

[2] Cod. bibl. pal. vindob. 2706. It has been nobly published, in a complete series of reproductions, many in colours, of photographs, under the direction of F. Dörnhöffer, at Utrecht, 1907–9; the illumination in question is reproduced, in colours, in pl. 758.

[3] Cf. *Hortulus Anime, Elucidation*, by F. Dörnhöffer, Utrecht, 1910, 23 *seqq.*, 30 *seqq.*

[4] I am indebted to Mr. Hope-Nicholson for informing me of this and of some of its details; and to our Fellow Mr. Louis C. G. Clarke, Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, for the remaining details here given.

Lorraine, Archbishop of Reims between 1545 and 1547 (it is closely datable because Charles was created cardinal in 1547 and his arms appear without a cardinal's hat); it is in triptych form, approximately 29½ by 13 in. (75 by 33 cm.), executed for the most part in *petit point* embroidery but adorned also with a few enamelled plaques; its central section carries only the words of the consecration (just as given on the *sacras* of our pls. v and vi) and some scenes (in addition to those in painted enamel) with appropriate inscriptions, the left wing carries the text of the 'Gloria' and ornamental designs and inscriptions, and the right wing the 'Credo' with similar designs and inscriptions.[1]

An inventory of York Minster, of the time of Edward VI, mentions 'A tablet, of silver and guilt, unmelted, to sett on the altar, 110 oz',[2] so suggesting the possibility that altar-ornaments similar to the contemporary Spanish *sacras* bearing only the words of the consecration may have been in use in England; the vast numbers—sometimes thousands in a single year—of English pilgrims to the shrine of St. James at Compostela (where, as we have learned from the records cited above, such *sacras* had, presumably, come into use some time before the period of that inventory) might well have brought about an introduction of objects of the kind into England. Unfortunately for us, no description, beyond that quoted above, of the 'tablet' is given; but the inclusion of the term 'unmelted', suggesting that it had been scheduled for destruction, permits a conjecture that at least it was regarded as of no further use in the services of the English Church.

It is disappointing that, from all the wealth of evidence relating to altar-cards that I have recited, we seemingly cannot draw a definite conclusion concerning in what way they originated. We

[1] Cf. L. de Farcy, *La Broderie*, Angers, 1890, pl. 65 (where the card is reproduced, in photogravure, in something like one-half its natural size) and p. 130 of the text. It should be noted that the accompanying inscription, attributing the object to the beginning of the sixteenth century, presumably has been meant to apply to another object reproduced on the same plate; the altar-card was made between 1545 and 1547. I must thank Mr. Clarke for notifying me of this object.

[2] Cf. *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society, 1859, 308. Mr. Hope-Nicholson, who brought to my notice the above entry, pointed out also the possibility that the object it refers to may conceivably be the one mentioned in an inventory of soon after 1500 as 'Una tabula argenti deaurati cum ymagine B.M. enamelyd, pond. ix lb., vij unc. di.' (cf. *ibid.* 223); the weight, 115 oz., of this *tabula*, only a few ounces more than that of the 'tablet' of the later inventory, might well have been reduced to 110 oz. during the four to five decades (including a period of great disturbance) which passed between the takings of the two inventories, by chance breakage or through some other cause; if it be the same object which is referred to in both records, it would seem—in the light of its description in the earlier inventory—unlikely that it was of the nature of a *sacra*.

have learned, indeed, that the ascription of their introduction to some time in the sixteenth century appears to err in suggesting for it too late a period, because for the fifteenth century there is the Vich record of the inscribing of 'un pergami [observe the singular form] ab lo cánon de la missa' (cf. p. 32, *supra*), which strongly suggests an altar-card (or at least something equivalent to one) rather than a single sheet of parchment divided into a number of leaves for binding together into a missal, as well as the tantalizing Gallegan document of 1472 (cf. p. 33, *supra*), which embraces in an obscure context the Gallegan word for an altar-card. And for the early sixteenth century, with the probability that they follow traditional lines deriving from the fifteenth, there are the miniature in the Flemish 'Hortulus Anime' (cf. p. 35, *supra*), possibly but little later than 1511, and (by attribution on grounds of style) the embroidered *Canon d'autel* (cf. p. 36, *supra*). These morsels of evidence suggest that altarcards, or other objects serving their purpose, not only were used during the second half of, or even earlier in, the fifteenth century, but also—since the evidence comes from Catalonia, in the east of Spain, Galicia, in its west, Flanders, and Italy—that already in that century their use was fairly widespread.

We know, from such records as those I have cited (cf. p. 34, *supra*) from Schmid's *Der christliche Altar*, that a card corresponding to the middle card of to-day preceded in application the other two now regularly employed; wherefore we might well assume that in its earliest form it was something (such as it is readily credible that the Vich *pergami* may have been) whose contents were similar in nature to those of the present middle card. I think, nevertheless, that the evidence I have brought forward leaves open to argument another conjecture concerning what may have been the origin of altar-cards; namely, that their prototype was a form of tablet carrying, as do the *sacras* shown in pls. v and vi, merely the words of the consecration, and that from such tablets came a realization that the celebrant could more conveniently refer to the Canon of the Mass if it were before him on a tablet rather than if on several leaves of a missal. I know of no existing *sacra*, whether with only the words of the consecration or with the Canon, which can be assigned to the fifteenth century, though the silver *sacra gótica* of Toledo Cathedral (cf. p. 29, *supra*), with the 'Gothic' angels supporting a tablet whose script appears to be of a time much later than the end of the 'Gothic' period, conceivably might originally have had its tablet inscribed with Gothic lettering (by the late sixteenth century outmoded) and have been made in the late 'Gothic' period in the contem-

porary style, or perhaps soon after the end of that period and copying a 'Gothic' form. Then, too, we should take into account that the perplexing Gallegan entry of 1472, possibly referring to a *sacra* of some kind, is in the records of Santiago Cathedral, a number of whose sixteenth-century records mention *sacras* bearing only the words of the consecration. The importance of those words is such that, as we have seen, in a text of the Canon of the Mass, otherwise in ordinary lettering, they are signalized by being engrossed in capitals.

It seems to me, therefore, quite possible that the prototype of the present middle card may have been an ornament, to be set upon the altar during Mass—and perhaps, unlike the cards bearing the Canon, also when the Blessed Sacrament was exposed at other times—to keep before the worshippers the solemn meaning of the rites, and in order that the celebrant priest should not risk making the slightest slip in pronouncing those tremendous words; and that later the whole Canon was transferred to the tablet for reading therefrom instead of from a missal. I suggest tentatively that in the term *sacra* we may perhaps find some evidence corroborative of this. In Portuguese (which is even closer to Gallegan than it is to Castilian Spanish), as it was formerly also in Castilian, *sagrar* is an equivalent of *consagrar*, 'to consecrate'; wherefore it would appear possible that *sacra*, a very closely allied word, might well have been first applied to something wherein the consecratory words were the defining feature, rather than to a Canon of the Mass (*Cánon de la misa* is given in the *Diccionario general etimológico de la Lengua española* as an 'antiquated' meaning of *Sacra*), in which the consecration of the elements is accompanied by a number of other important rites. Perhaps of some value, too, in deciding which was the earlier form, and especially when contemplated in association with that etymological possibility, is the distinction which in late sixteenth-century Catalonia was drawn (cf. p. 32, *supra*) between *una sacra* and *una sacra romana*—I think we may presume that there the former term was applied to tablets carrying only the words of the consecration, and the latter to tablets carrying the Canon of the Mass—in which the qualifying adjective suggests that the *sacra romana* came into use later than did the simple *sacra*. As evidence of the close connexion between the *sacras* bearing only the words of the consecration and those bearing the Canon of the Mass, we may recall the one at Granada, concerning which I was told that at times (not specified to me) it was given the place on the altar of the usual middle card, and the celebrant read, when necessary, from a missal instead of from a card.

Although the material at my disposal has, as I think, been insufficient to permit us to pass final judgement concerning whether altar-ornaments of the nature of those reproduced in our pls. v and vi preceded, or whether they followed, altar-cards approximating in nature to the middle card now employed, we may reasonably hope that, now that attention has been drawn to the matter, further research in the surviving archives of some of the great Spanish cathedrals, by those who have easy access to those archives, may bring to light the evidence I lack.

A Claudian Site at Needham, Norfolk

By Sheppard Frere

Needham lies on the Norfolk side of the Waveney valley, not far west of Harleston.[1] East of the village is the large gravel pit

Fig. 1. Sketch-map showing the position of the site

owned by Mr. H. Dean which has revealed the site (fig. 1) here to be described. This pit has already produced a Bronze Age food vessel,[2] and is known as the site of a microlithic industry and of a first- and second-century Romano-British village. Commercial working has laid bare from time to time dark pits and

[1] 6-in. O.S. Norfolk CVI SE.; lat. 52° 23′ 25″ N., long. 1° 17′ E.
[2] *Antiq. Journ.* xx (April 1940), 272.

ditches on the surface of the gravel, which have yielded the normal debris of the Romano-British peasant settlement.[1] One of these ditches, however, lying to the south of the area of later occupation, has yielded remains of the Claudian period which throw considerable light upon the manner and date of the earliest attempt to romanize East Anglia.

The whole group of this early pottery comes from this ditch or from pits closely associated with it, and no traces of Claudian settlement have been found to the north of it. Of the finds, part which will be described first, has been recovered sporadically as the gravel face was worked; but a control series was obtained in an excavation carried out by the writer and his brother, Mr. David Frere, in April 1939, when 12 ft. of the ditch were cleared. The description of this series will come second.

The ditch (called ditch 3) is small and V-shaped (pl. vii, with dimensions), and runs east and west, parallel to the river. The pottery, as is seen in the photograph, came from a homogeneous sealed deposit above the primary silt of large stones, and perhaps represents a rubbish dump, since pieces of the same pot were found as much as 8 ft. apart along it, and the surrounding soil was very black. One small fragment came from the very bottom of the ditch, but is of the same character as the rest. The pottery level petered out towards the western end of our cutting.

THE FINDS

Clarke[2] has recently described how the pottery of his phase II of the Iron Age consists of several elements. Basically, there is an Iron Age A tradition, but this is usually moulded by Iron Age B influence, giving a hybrid AB culture. Towards the close of the first century B.C. the influence of the Belgic kingdoms (Iron Age C) began to penetrate from the south and south-west, and in the first century A.D. native Belgic products, together with imports from Gallia Belgica, powerfully affected the Icenian potters. Vessels from Belgic kilns[3] were traded northwards into north Suffolk and Norfolk, as was Gallo-Belgic pottery from across the Channel (see distribution map, fig. 9). Some[4] have regarded the importation of Gallo-Belgic wares as entirely a pre-conquest trade, but Clarke[5] has shown that in East Anglia the

[1] See *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxvi (1937), 145–53, for preliminary report: full report forthcoming.

[2] R. Rainbird Clarke, 'The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk', *Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 55.

[3] Clarke, *op. cit.* 54, 56, 57.

[4] e.g. Corder and Pryce, *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (July 1938), 262 *et seq.*, discussing their penetration to south Yorkshire.   [5] *Op. cit.* 61, 63.

area of their distribution and that of Belgic settlement (in the
Upper Stour valley) are mutually exclusive; while the occurrence
of these wares still in Claudian times has been abundantly proved
at Colchester, and this is borne out in our area at Needham pre-
eminently. The effect of the combination of these different

FIG. 2. Rescued Samian ware ($\frac{2}{3}$)

traditions is mainly seen in the imitation by native Icenian potters
of Belgic and Gallo-Belgic importations; this ABC blend[1] will
here be called Icenian.

In A.D. 43 began the Roman Conquest, resulting not only in
the arrival of fresh imported ware but also in technical improve-
ments in the local potteries. That the importation of true Samian
did not begin until the Conquest has been proved by excavation
at Colchester; and to the succeeding years (i.e. $\pm$A.D. 50) belongs
the emergence of regular Romano-British coarse ware (exempli-
fied by hard light grey and other fabrics) in our area. Finally, in
A.D. 61 came the rebellion of Boudicca, the suppression of which
left a deep and lasting impress on the culture of East Anglia, and
materially retarded its advance for over half a century.[2] After this
set-back, romanization had to start afresh. This later develop-
ment has been traced at Needham in the forthcoming report on
the Romano-British village. It is with the initial and eventually
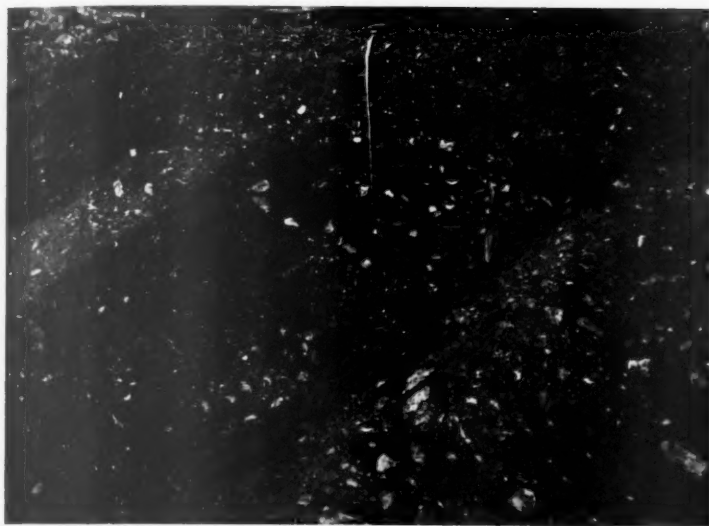premature romanization of the years 43–61 that we are here
concerned.

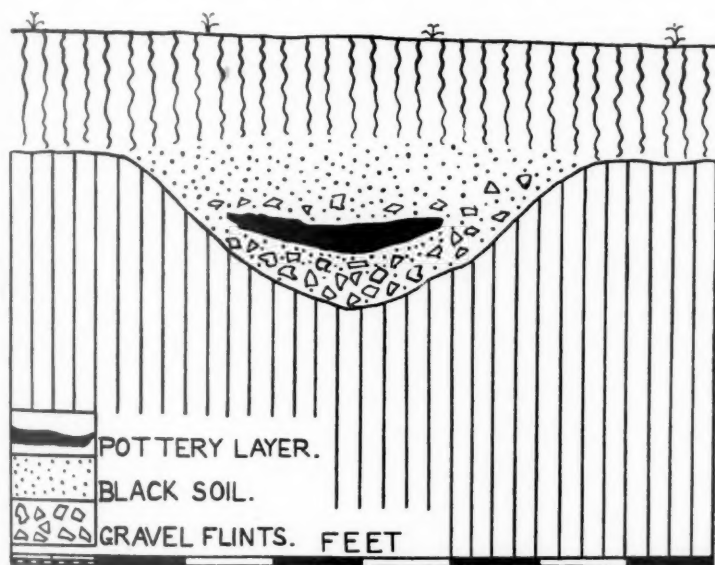### I.   *Rescued Pottery* (Figs. 2–4)

a. Samian

1. Form 29, complete profile, ascribed by Dr. Oswald to Ardacus. Upper
   frieze very similar to a f. 29, OF ARDACI, at Bonn. *c.* A.D. 50.
2. Form 29. The dog (Oswald 1968) and hare (Os. 2047) occur together
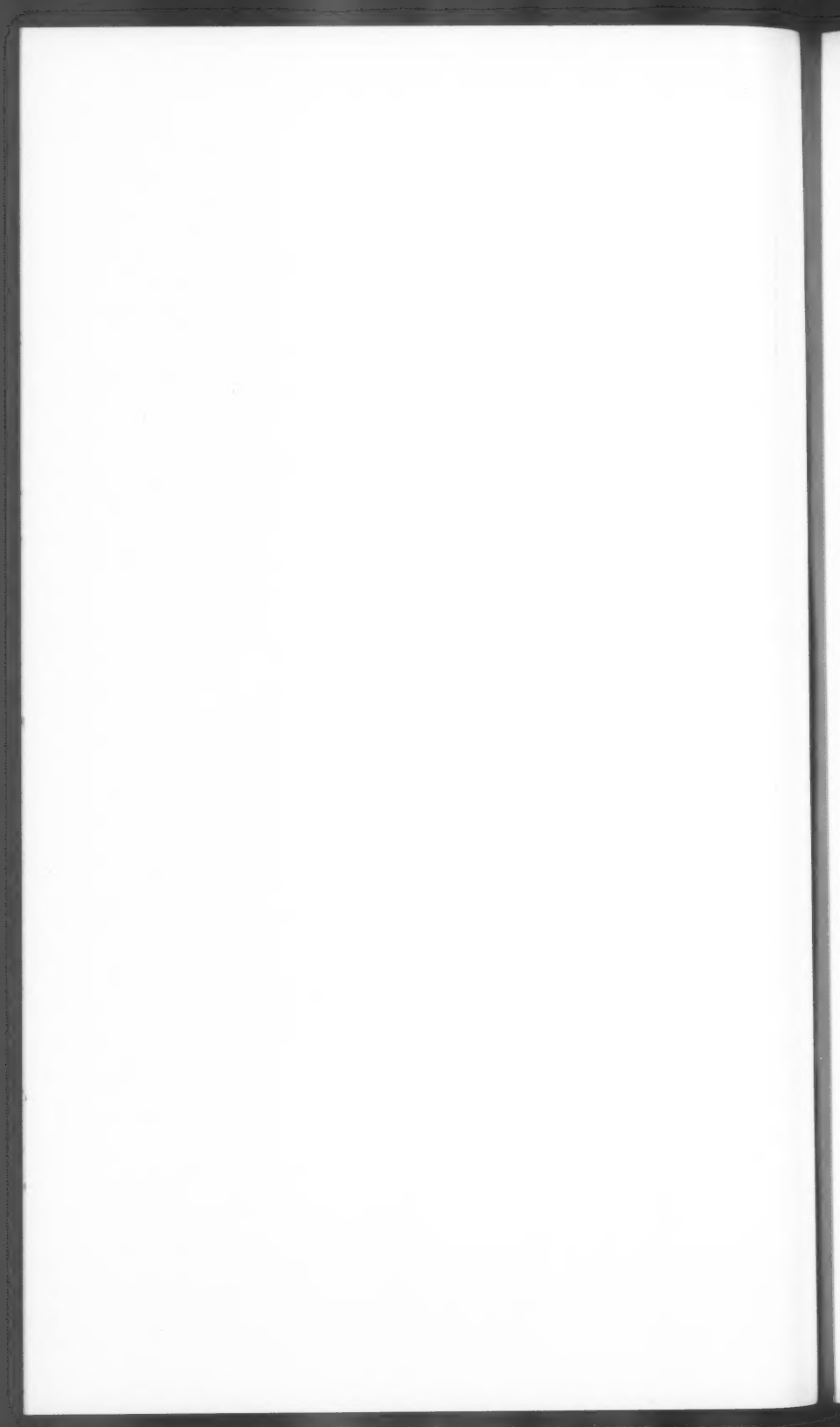
[1] Clarke, *ibid.* 58.
[2] Clarke, *ibid.* 87 *et seq.*; Hawkes, *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E.A.* vii, 236–7.

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a. Ditch 3, showing potsherds in position, 2 ft. of tape showing

POTTERY LAYER.

BLACK SOIL.

GRAVEL FLINTS.   FEET

b. Sectional Drawing of Ditch 3, cut in gravel subsoil

on a f. 29, POTITI·MA, from London (London Mus.). The arrow-heads are also early. *c.* A.D. 50.

3. Form 24 complete profile, with stamp read by Dr. Oswald as OF M͡VRANI. Claudian, *c.* A.D. 50.

There is also a fragment of base up to the flange of the same form, which Dr. Oswald calls possibly Claudian, *c.* A.D. 50–5: see 16, below.

Also form 27 with stamp D͡AMONI (cf. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue*, M 799 from Hod Hill). Claudian, *c.* A.D. 50.

4. Form 29, two fragments (one figured). The dog is Oswald 1968, common at La Graufesenque. Dr. Oswald cannot ascribe it definitely to any potter, but among the nearest in general design is CRESTIO (Claudius–Vespasian), e.g. a f. 29 in the British Museum. The lower zone of the lower frieze is occupied by festoons (though the upper zone is composed of arrow-heads), but the dog occurs in the upper frieze in a panel alternately with a panel of arrow-heads as here. *c.* A.D. 50–60, a little later than 1.

Form 29, base stamped BIO[FECIT. Claudius–Nero, *c.* A.D. 50–60.

5. Form 29, upper frieze. Possibly the work of Ingenuus. The slender cuneiform leaf is closely similar to his version of it on the upper frieze of a f. 29, OF INGENVI, at Neuss. Claudian.

b. Gallo-Belgic, Belgic, Icenian, and Romano-British Wares

6. Rouletted butt-beaker of thin, hard, light paste. Belgic or perhaps imported Gallo-Belgic, cf. *Verulamium*,[1] pl. LV a, dated A.D. 5–35; very plentiful at Colchester, where Mr. Hawkes informs me they were almost certainly made. Typical of later Belgic period; A.D. 50 or soon after would seem a terminal date. From ditch 3.

7. Icenian copy of 6 in soft orange clay; light cross-hatching instead of rouletting. Mr. Hull considers it contemporary with 6. Ditch 3.

8. Similar Icenian butt-beaker copy; dark grey-brown ware; brick-red paste which flakes off on the interior surface; roughly rouletted. While 7 is of a quality not necessarily immediately local, 8 is typical of the local pottery, with high mica content, and was probably made at or near Needham. Ditch 3.

9. Upper portion of girth-beaker, of reddish-brown polished exterior, brown interior, micaceous clay. Decoration, loose herring-bone pattern. Unassociated.

10. Pedestal-beaker of similar paste to 8, direct copy of a Gallo-Belgic red beaker found at Colchester, where the copy, however, is unknown. Mr. Hull dates it A.D. 40–50.

11. Native (Belgic or Icenian?) imitation of Haltern type 88, of grey paste with highly finished almost black surface, very micaceous in content. Mr. Hull considers it almost fine enough for an import, but it lacks the internal ripples of the Haltern example. Cf. *Verulamium*, fig. 15, 34, dated A.D. 5–35. The presence of horizontal grooving seems to indicate an early place in the series.

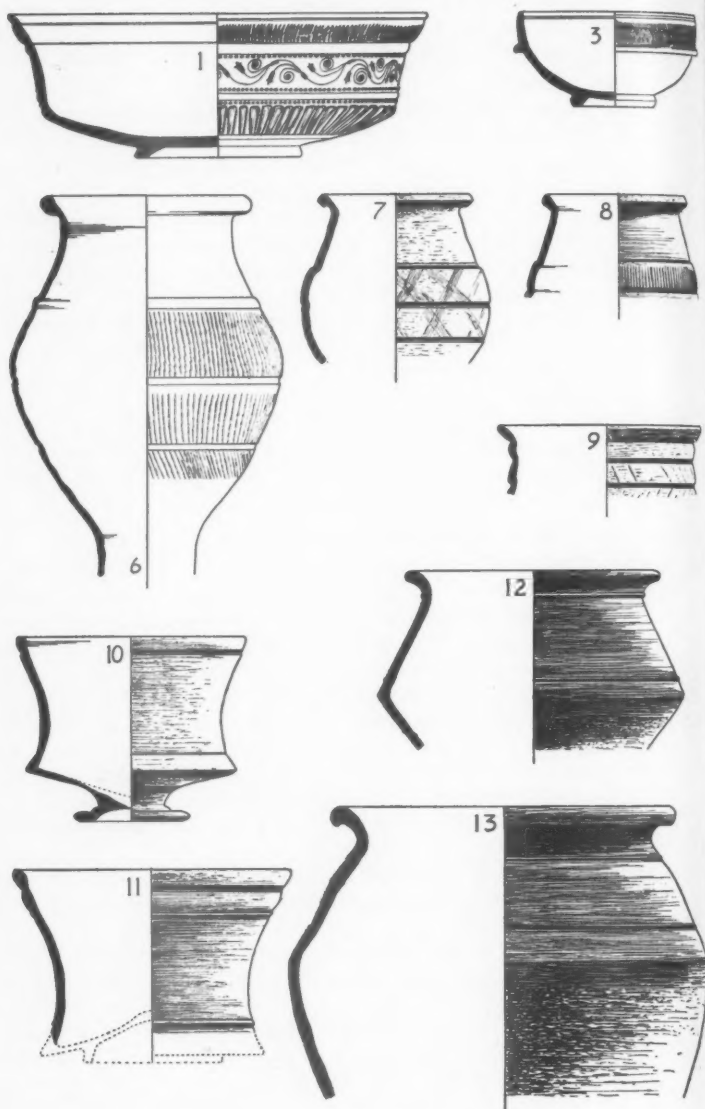[1] R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium, A Belgic and two Roman Cities* (1936).

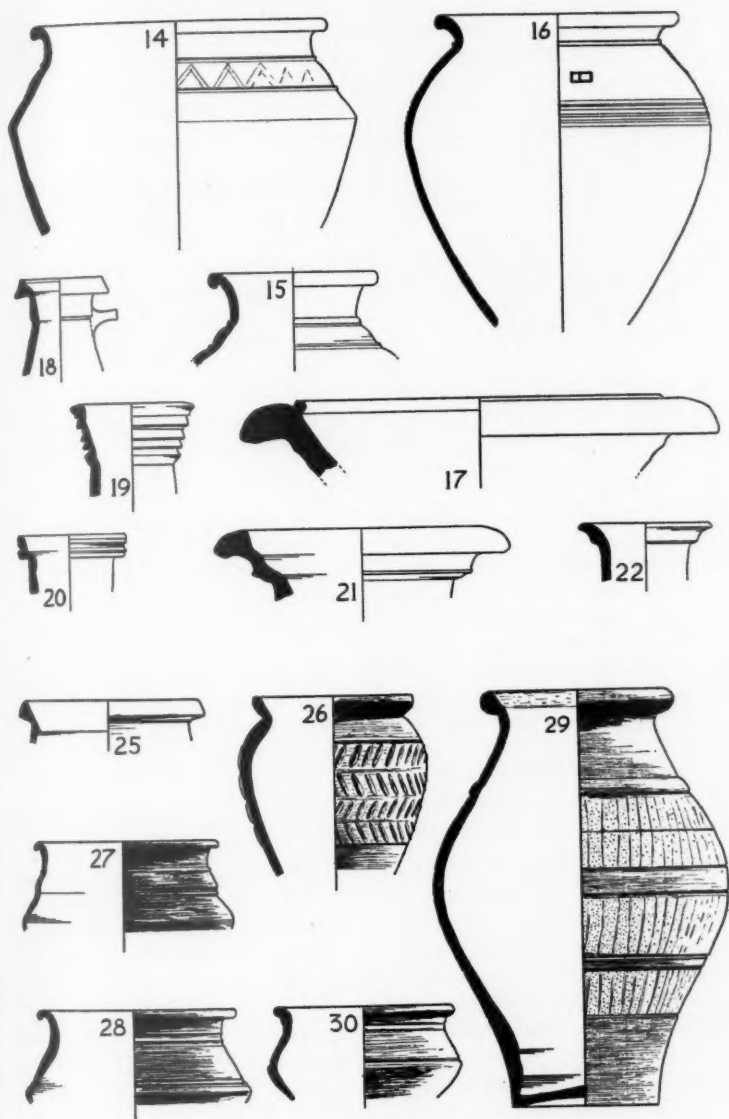Fig. 3. Rescued Samian and other pottery (¼)

FIG. 4. Rescued (14–22) and excavated (25–29) pottery (¼)

There are also present three small fragments of Gallo-Belgic Terra Nigra plate, one piece with degenerate foot-ring.

Hitherto we have dealt with pottery whose manufactory or model is continental. The remainder are of British type.

12. Carinated bowl of brownish-black ware with high polish, purely native Belgic in character; cordon at base of neck, and just above shoulder. Ditch 3.

13. Similar vessel of brick-red paste with black bituminous surfaces, the exterior surface burnished to ½in. below carination. Two cordons, the lower less pronounced. Ditch 3.

14. Grey bowl romanized in appearance, though softly baked; sharp carination; two pronounced cordons, bounding a faintly burnished chevron. Ditch 3. Cf. 41.

15. Jar neck associated with 11. Buff-brown paste, quality hardly yet Roman; burnished exterior, 'soapy' feel.

16. Jar associated with form 24 base (see under 3). Soft brownish-red ware, quality Roman, form reminiscent of the Belgic pedestal urn. Incised graffito on shoulder, which Mr. Hull considers to be the owner's mark.

17. Mortarium, Claudian. Ditch 3.

18–22. Flagon necks.

18. Native copy of imported flagon; buff-red micaceous paste, white slip. c. A.D. 40–50.

19. Normal hard buff paste.

20. Buff paste. Ditch 3. Cf. *Richborough*,[1] i, 67–9.

21. The sharp moulding below the neck is a Claudius–Nero feature. Unassociated.

22. Soft white ware. Claudius–Nero. Cf. *Richborough*, iii, 187 (dated A.D. 45–75).

II. *Excavated pottery from Ditch 3, cutting 1* (Figs. 4–7)

This group is securely dated by association with a bronze brooch, a coin mould (see below, p. 50), and two pieces of decorated Samian.

23. Form 29, probably the work of Potitus. The medallions containing the three stalked pomegranates at the apex and the two spirals just beneath are very similar to those in the f. 29 lower frieze POTITI·MA in London Mus. The large well-spaced beads of the central moulding are also quite early and occur in his work. Claudian.

24. Form 29, almost certainly the work of Aquitanus. The rosettes in the scroll of the upper frieze are similar to those on a f. 29 OF AQVITANI at Vindonissa and on a f. 29 at Nymwegen AQVITANVS, while the heart-shaped leaves are frequent on his work, e.g. f. 29 OF AQVITANI in St. Germain Museum. Claudian.

25. Rim of white butt-beaker similar to 6.

[1] J. P. Bushe-Fox, F.S.A., *The Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, First Report*.

26. Small butt-beaker in soft red ware with traces of buff slip, decorated with herring-bone pattern in barbotine. Copy of imported form, Haltern type 86; cf. *Verulamium*, pl. LV A. 1, dated *c.* A.D. 30–50.
    Fragments of a similar vessel in buff ware were also present.
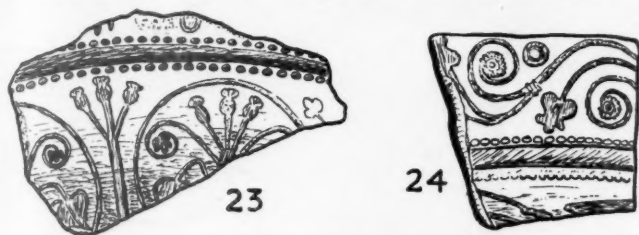27. Bowl of thin hard ware, brick-red paste, black-coated inside and out

FIG. 5. Excavated Samian Ware, Ditch 3, cutting 1 (⅔)

Of similar type (though smaller) to *Verulamium*, fig. 17, 51, dated *c.* A.D. 5–35.
28. Bowl of fine dull dark brown paste, wide shallow grooves at base of neck and above carination.
29. Butt-beaker in light grey micaceous clay, burnished except for mat bands, themselves decorated with burnished vertical lines. Icenian imitation of 6.
30. Small bowl of brown-grey clay, quality more romanized than 27 and 28. Cf. the relationship of *Verulamium*, fig. 15, 41, with *ibid.* 38.
31. Bowl or beaker in rough dark grey clay, coarsely smoothed above pronounced carination. Influenced perhaps by Ritterling type 9; but the nearest analogues are *Verulamium*, fig. 22, 6, and fig. 15, 35 *d*.
32. Pedestal in brown ware burnt in patches black. The fractured edge has apparently been ground smooth all round for some subsequent use. This was noticed at *Verulamium* (fig. 16, 49 *c*). The base of the vessel at top of pedestal is a secondary addition; it consists of a separate piece of clay very roughly affixed.
33. Bowl of fine sandy red ware; decorated with panel of vertical burnished lines, between grooves.
34. Bowl closely similar to 33, with lightly rouletted panel and wall smoothed to base. Fragments of a third similar vessel were recovered, decorated with vertical lines as on 33, but reaching to rim. The shape is a rounded rendering of Samian form 29. Mr. Hawkes reports that a very similar and roughly contemporary type was found at Colchester (forthcoming report, type 49), in filling of ditch I A. This class of imitation became more common in the Flavian and subsequent periods (*Antiq. Journ.* vii, 174–6), but is now seen to have, like so much other Flavian pottery, a good Claudian prototype. The sealed and homogeneous nature of the deposit makes it certain that these bowls are pre-Boudiccan.
35. Bowl of coarse grey ware; projecting ledge-like carination; stepped shoulder and neck.
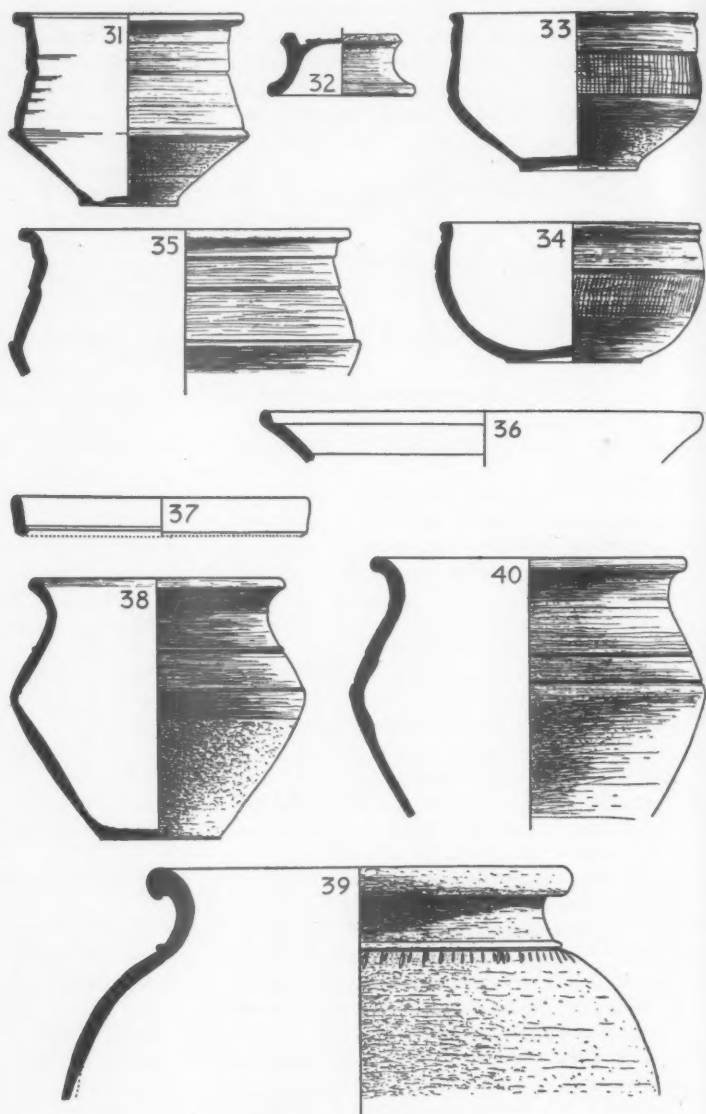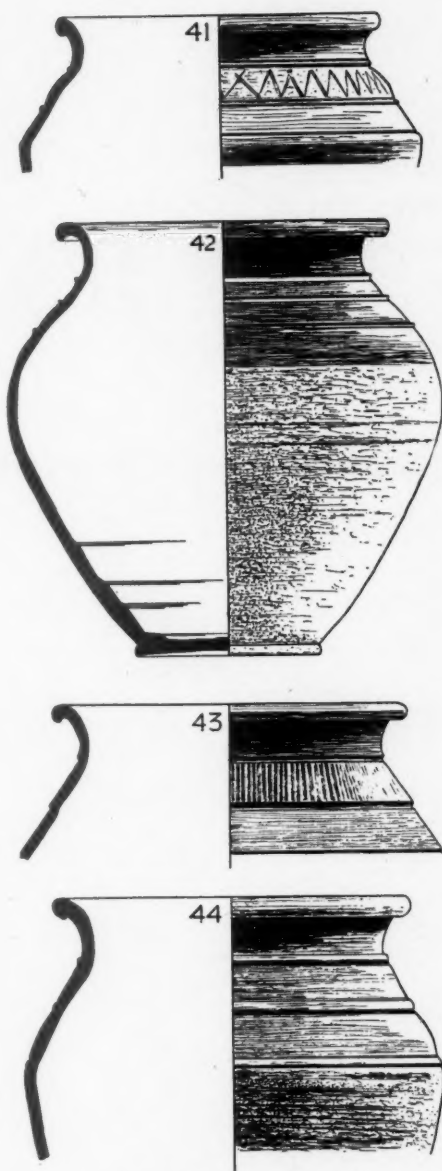
FIG. 6. Excavated pottery (⅓)

Fig. 7. Excavated pottery (¼)

36. Dish of smooth olive-grey ware, imitating Gallo-Belgic form. See May, *Colchester Catalogue*, pl. VI, 62.
37. Dish of soft coarse grey ware; small internal moulding at base of wall. Imitation of Gallo-Belgic form: cf. *Hengistbury Head*,[1] class L 28; *Verulamium*, fig. 12, 18. Two of these dishes were present.
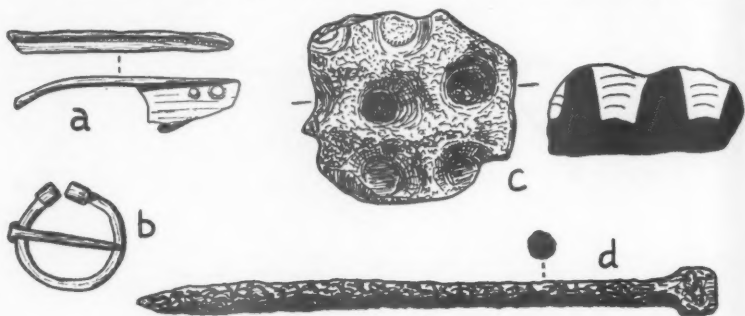38. Cordoned bowl; quality pre-Roman; upper part coated with black

FIG. 8. Other finds, Ditch 3, cutting 1 (⅔)

polished slip, lower part brown mat. The cutting also contained the lower half of a very similar bowl; decoration, burnished horizontal lines at intervals on mat background.
39. Storage jar; coarse grey-brown ware, interior surface almost all flaked away. Type well known at Colchester.
40. Bowl of coarse very soft grey-buff ware; shoulder bears roughly tooled grooves, partially obscured by rough burnishing marks.
41. Carinated bowl of grey-brown ware, roughly burnished except for mat band between cordons, bearing burnished trellis; quality romanized, yet has same flaky red interior as, e.g., 8 and 10. For decoration see May, *Colchester Catalogue*, pl. IV, 28.
42. Cordoned jar; grey paste, black surface inside and out; mat to shoulder, burnished above; moulded foot.
43. Jar of brick-red-brown paste, black slip inside and out; shoulder stepped like 35; burnished except for one mat zone decorated with vertical burnished lines.
44. Jar of reddish paste, black slip outside; cordoned shoulder, mat below.

III. *Other excavated finds, Ditch 3, cutting 1*

Fig. 8, *a* and *b*. Two bronze brooches. *b*, of penannular type, is unfortunately useless for dating, in our present state of knowledge. *a*, however, is Claudian, *c*. A.D. 50, according to Mr. Hawkes who has kindly examined it. The bow has a narrow band of ornament; the plate is pierced by two holes (Collingwood,[2] type F).

[1] J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire* (1915).
[2] R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930).

Fig. 8, *c*. Piece of baked clay, partly fused, containing circular cavities whose floors are slightly convex. Mr. Hawkes identifies this as part of a mould, used for casting the blanks from which British coins were struck. Evidence for this will appear in the forthcoming Colchester report. . There, of course, they are pre-Claudian, and the present example must surely be pre-Boudiccan.

Fig. 8, *d*. Iron stilus.

Conclusions

The Claudian settlement at Needham is thus attested in part by Samian and Gallo-Belgic imports from the Continent, and by Belgic wares traded from the Colchester region, but chiefly by Icenian pottery modelled on or inspired by these non-local products; the influence, too, of romanization is visible in improved greyer and sandier fabrics closely associated with the former. The group, then, must date from after A.D. 43, while in 61 came the Boudiccan rebellion which abruptly terminated this early budding of prosperity. The closer limiting dates of 48–61 have indeed been proposed by Clarke[1] for the first penetration of Roman culture into Norfolk and Suffolk, and he has also suggested that the abortive Icenian rising of A.D. 47–8 resulted in the withdrawal of the right of coining from their king Prasutagus; but whether this bears directly on the date of the Needham mould is perhaps uncertain. Our conclusion at any rate must be that the occupation evidenced by ditch 3 belongs to a period of about fifteen years immediately preceding the rebellion of Boudicca.

This pottery group throws valuable light on the state of culture in East Anglia at this early date. The civilizing influences which resulted in the foundation of Venta Icenorum, and which did not become effective until after the Boudiccan episode, can now be assessed in south Norfolk in the reign of Claudius; and the influence of Colchester is now, as later,[2] paramount. The presence of the stilus is in this connexion significant, implying as it does the use of wax writing-tablets of Roman pattern; and the quantity of early Samian likewise betokens a certain standard of wealth and culture. It is noticeable that after this Claudian group there is a complete[3] absence of decorated Samian on the Needham site until Hadrianic times—a fact which reflects the repressive measures adopted by Suetonius after the Boudiccan rebellion, and provides an historical confirmation for the date of the deposit. This Needham group thus places in their context the sites else-

[1] *Op. cit.* 86.
[2] e.g. Caistor. Atkinson in *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxvi (1937), p. 198.
[3] The only exception being a Domitianic f. 37 in pit M.

where in East Anglia beyond the limits of Belgic expansion in the Stour valley (see map, fig. 9) which have produced traces of Belgic influence and trade; and, as Mr. Hawkes has suggested to the writer, a 'Prasutagan' period in East Anglian archaeology may now be formulated,[1] whose outlines future research must define.

It remains, therefore, to consider the historical conditions which would govern the formation of a settlement at Needham in the decade following the Claudian invasion. The belgicization of the Iceni, in the first place, should be regarded as the product less of Belgic than of Roman expansion. How did this come about?

Clarke has demonstrated[2] that in his phase II of the Iron Age the rich clay lands of High Norfolk and High Suffolk remained empty. The Ipswich region is devoid of finds attributable to phase II, and must have remained isolated and inhabited only by Iron Age A survivors. The greatest density of Icenian population was (as in phase I) on the Brecklands, while in this period the Norwich loam area, too, began to be exploited. To the south and south-west were the Belgae, lately arrived in the Upper Stour valley and in the Cambridge region. With these new-comers the most important land communication was by the Icknield Way; next came the Lark-Stour watershed; and finally an undetermined route through east Suffolk. Communication by sea is also probable.

With these conclusions agrees the map[3] here published (fig. 9) of finds of the Prasutagan period in East Anglia, which shows a preponderance still in Breckland and in the Norwich region. The central clay-lands remain unused. The only change is the settlement of the Deben and Orwell estuaries, and the presence of some fresh coastal sites. The riverside character of these settlements, a feature of most other prehistoric periods in the district also, is almost as marked as that of the Saxon burials on Leeds's well-known map, and is no doubt due to the presence of river gravels suitable for occupation.

Nucleated thus near the Belgic frontiers, the Iceni, as has long been recognized,[4] regarded their aggressive neighbours with

[1] Prasutagus, 'longa opulentia clarus' (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31).

[2] *Op. cit.* 82 *et seq.*

[3] Based on information kindly supplied by Mr. Rainbird Clarke, without whose assistance it could not have been produced. The writer expresses his debt to Mr. Clarke for much help in the preparation of this paper, and in particular for the loan of the typescript of his paper 'The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk' (*Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 1–113, where see the Gazetteer).

[4] Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 87–90.

hostile suspicion, and at the Claudian invasion they ensured their safety by an alliance with the Imperial Government.[1] It was to

FIG. 9. The Romanization of East Anglia, as shown by the distribution of pottery
A.D. 43–61

Note. The Icenian pots are no doubt all in origin (some perhaps exclusively) earlier than the Roman Conquest. For site 30, Scole, see footnote 4 on page 54.

be expected that the Roman friendship, and more particularly, perhaps, the activities of Roman money-lenders,[2] would result in improved material civilization, especially in a region hitherto so

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xii, 31.
[2] Whose panic recall of debts did much to precipitate the rebellion of A.D. 61. See Dio, lxii, 2.

rude;[1] and this improvement would become more marked with increased political control after the affair of A.D. 48. Colchester

List of Sites[2] shown on Distribution Map (fig. 9)

Number	County	Place	Icenian	Belgic	Gallo-Belgic	Roman
1	N.	Coltishall . . .		×		
2	S.	Creeting St. Mary .		×		
3	S.	Elveden . . .		×		
4	N.	Needham . . .	×	×	×	×
5	N.	Runcton Holme .	×	×	×	×
6	S.	Ipswich . . .			× ×	×
7	N.	Warham St. Mary[3] .	×		×	
8	N.	Wereham . . .	×		×	
9	N.	Arminghall . .	×			
10	N.	Attleborough . .	×			
11	S.	Butley . . .	×			
12	N.	Caldecote, near Beach-amwell . . .	×			
13	S.	Fakenham, near Thet-ford . . .	×			
14	S.	Freckenham . .	×			
15	N.	Heacham . . .	×			
16	S.	Hollesley . . .	×			
17	N.	Hunstanton . .	×			
18	N.	Ickburgh . . .	×			
19	S.	Lakenheath . .	×			
20	N.	Markshall . .	×			
21	N.	Santon . . .	×			
22	N.	Stoke Ferry . .	×			×
23	N.	Tottenhill . .	×			
24	N.	Ashill . . .				×
25	S.	Great Thurlow .				×
26	S.	Playford . . .				×
27	S.	Tattingstone . .				×
28	S.	Trimley . . .				×
29	N.	Winterton . .				×
30	N.	Scole[4] . . .				

[1] See material from, e.g., Postwick, *Norf. Arch.* xxvi (1938), 271, and Arming-hall, *P.P.S.* ii (1936), p. 15, fig. 6. Cf. Clarke, *op. cit.* 56.

[2] For details of these sites consult Clarke's Gazetteer, *op. cit.* 91 *et seq.*

[3] This site also produced Roman pottery, though not earlier than the Flavian period. *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 405 *et seq.* This is what would be expected on the diffusionist theory here advanced.

[4] The nature of the site is still obscure, but it has produced iron-work which Mr. Hawkes informs the writer is on Colchester analogies definitely pre-Flavian (*P.P.S.E.A.* i, 321–3; *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.* xxii, 269). These objects were dug up about 1905, and the associated pottery has not been preserved. The site, in a gravel pit, has been thought to be a camp (see *Antiquity*, xiii, 50, p. 189), but the evidence for this is perhaps inconclusive: it may be a village of the Needham type.

was the origin of these improvements—a Colchester which was still producing Belgic material under ever-increasing Roman influence.

That this material advance did not rapidly reach the farthest confines of Norfolk is only to be expected. In fact the map (fig. 9) makes it clear that while Belgic influence (evidenced by the Icenian class of pottery) did quickly spread through the centres of population, and Gallo-Belgic imports[1] made their way forward at least as far as the boundaries of Norfolk,[2] truly romanized pottery is in the main restricted to sites in the neighbourhood of Ipswich.[3] Here, then, is the most significant feature of the map. This area had been virtually deserted in the previous period. Now it is quickly settled, and the pottery indicates real romanization. Farther north, the pattern of similar pottery is more diffuse, being unknown in central and north Norfolk, and rare in west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk; and clearly it was south Suffolk that chiefly felt the first impact of Rome. Geographical contiguity, then, played a large part in the spread of new fashions. Prasutagus, in fact, lacked sufficient wealth or will to impose romanization on his subjects, but what he did do was to open his realm to its diffusion.

[1] Which, it will be remembered, must denote post-conquest activity, being absent in the true Belgic area on the Stour.

[2] Warham, Clarke suggests, may have been reached by sea.

[3] Clarke, *op. cit.* 63.

Early Artillery Fortifications at Oslo and Trondheim

By B. H. St. J. O'Neil, M.A., F.S.A.

At the present time, when the thoughts and sympathy of many are with our Norwegian friends and allies, it may be of interest to recall certain other occasions on which they have had to face invasion from the sea. Moreover, the fortifications erected in Norway during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are of particular interest for comparison with those of this country during the same period, since, doubtless owing to their geographical position, both countries seem to have been influenced only gradually and spasmodically by the developing military science of the middle European peoples, the Germans and Italians.
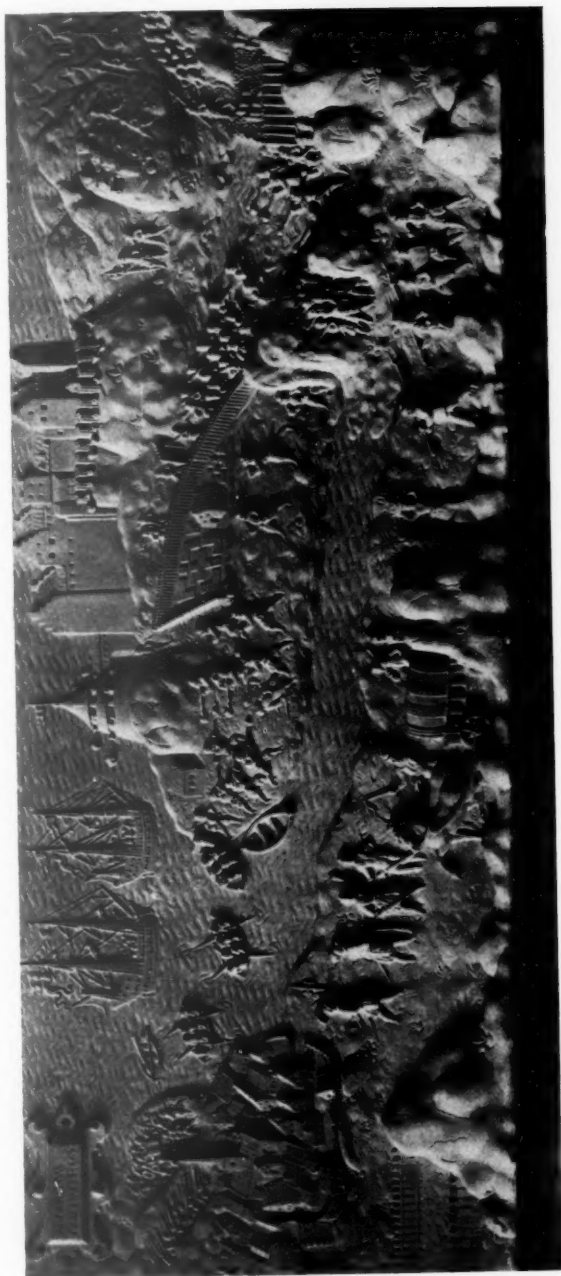
Most of the artillery fortifications existing in Norway, as described in *Festninger og andre militærbygninger*,[1] date from the late seventeenth century or later, but even very brief research at the time of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences at Oslo in 1936 showed that some portions of earlier work still exist at various places, largely incorporated in later defences. No extensive survey of these remains can be attempted here, since the material is not readily available, but the two illustrations of Oslo (Christiania) here reproduced form an excellent introduction to the study of such defences.

Oslo

Plate viii[2] is taken from a cast in Frederiksborg (Museum) at Hillerød near Copenhagen of a relief on the sarcophagus of King Frederic V of Denmark which is in Roskilde Cathedral. It shows the siege of Akershus by the Swedes in 1567. Akershus, the medieval fortress of Oslo, lies on a rocky promontory at the head of Oslo Fiord. The town of Oslo, anciently Obslo, lay to the east on the opposite side of an inlet of the fiord, now known as Björvika, and the site of the present city of Oslo was open country in 1567 and doubtless remained so until 1624, as will be mentioned later. This representation of the siege looks southwards down the fiord. The main buildings of Akershus have been much altered since that time, but, as shown here, they probably give an approximately accurate picture of the fortress at the end of the

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[1] *Aarsberetning for Foreningen til Norske Fortids Mindesmaerkers Bevaring*, 90 Aargang, 1934, 75 ff.

[2] Kindly supplied by Herr Otto Andrup, Museumsdirektør, Frederiksborg.

The Siege of Akershus, Oslo, by the Swedes in 1567

Pl. IX   THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL, Vol. XXI

Christiania, c. 1648

medieval period before the general introduction of fire-arms in defensive positions. Similarly Oslo is indicated as an ordinary medieval town, although its gateway must have been comparatively new at the time of the siege. It is, however, interesting to note the absence of a stone town wall. The defences, apart presumably from the gateway, consist of a wooden paling which fills the gaps between convenient buildings. This may have been characteristic of the country, but it is particularly noteworthy in view of the possibility that a certain number of smaller towns in England and especially Wales may have existed throughout the medieval period with defences of wood except at the gateways. This seems to have been the case at Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire,[1] and there must be many other examples, although, as shown by excavation recently at Montgomery,[2] the complete absence at the present time of any remains of a stone wall does not disprove the former existence of such a defence.

For the present purpose, however, the chief interest of this representation of the siege of Oslo in 1567 lies in the round tower attached to the southern (left) end of Akershus by a covered walk. This is known as Munketårnet, and still retains its general shape, although the upper part may have been remodelled. Eight guns are shown, two being in action, presumably against the warships or transports of the invaders which have come up the fiord and have already sent out landing parties in small boats. This tower may be compared with the towers and castles which Henry VIII caused to be erected on the eastern and southern English coasts in 1540 and earlier years. This country can provide no parallel for the roof of Munketårnet, but the general shape of the tower closely resembles that of the left-hand round tower in the foreground of the picture at Hampton Court Palace, which portrays Henry VIII's embarkation at Dover in 1520. The two are alike even in the shape of the gun-ports, which are oblong horizontally and have a considerable external splay.[3]

The year 1557 has been given as the approximate date of the erection of Munketårnet and there are doubtless good historical reasons for this dating. It may well be, therefore, the latest known

[1] *Montgomeryshire Collections*, xliii, 58–63. A wood-carving showing the timber palisade of the castle of New Buckenham, Norfolk, may also be compared with this picture of Oslo (v. Braun, *The English Castle*, fig. 13).

[2] Report forthcoming in *Arch. Camb.*, Dec. 1940.

[3] This may, however, be an inaccurate representation. H. Ginding-Larsen in *Akershus*, i, 18–19 says that there are three storeys for gun-ports and a gallery for muskets. There are four gun-ports in each storey, all with wide internal splays and no external splay. The name of the tower Larsen derives from Christen Munk (1556–72). The writer had no opportunity of examining the tower in detail.

example of this type of fortification, since the more developed and entirely different style with angular bastions was by then well established in Italy.[1] The earlier system of low, round fortifications is known in print only from the work of Albrecht Dürer, which was first published in Nüremberg in 1527, and it is probable that this and similar fortifications in Norway,[2] like the contemporary examples in England, were mainly inspired by the work of German engineers. There is, however, little doubt that their ultimate origin is to be sought farther south in such storm-centres as Rhodes.

Plate IX is a reproduction of a map of Christiania in about 1648 by Geelkerch, which is in the University Library at Oslo.[3] An almost identical map was (in 1936) hanging in the Bymuseet at Oslo and half of a similar plan, newly discovered, was published with an article in the Oslo newspaper *Aftenposten* of 4th January 1936. It is probable that all three plans are from the same hand.

Christiania, which was renamed Oslo in 1924, was founded in 1624 by Christian IV of Denmark on the comparatively level land immediately north of the older fortress, Akershus. As the plan shows, it was laid out in rectangular fashion, and the central part of the city remains practically the same in plan at the present time. The fortress, with much enlarged defences, erected either at this time or somewhat earlier, was distinct from the town and the two appear to have been joined only by a palisade at the western line of defences. The line of the town defences doubtless conformed to the natural contour of the ground and there is an indication from the dotted line on the eastern or water front that they were here of much lighter construction, if indeed any defences existed at all. Similar dotted lines on the northern and eastern sides of Akershus seem rather to indicate projected works.

The outer defences of Akershus shown on this plan remain intact and the three bastions from south to north are now known as Prins Carls bastion, Kronprinsens bastion, and Skarpenort. They were built after 1593 and both on plan and in general appearance may be compared with the artillery defences of Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, which were completed between 1597 and 1600. Kronprinsens bastion has, however, curved projections or orillons to protect the casemates, which recall Italian prototypes, but which do not seem to have made their appearance in this country.

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[1] Zanchi, *Del modo di Fortificar le città*, the earliest printed book with illustrations of this style, was first published in Venice in 1554.
[2] e.g. Steinvigsholm near Trondheim, *c.* 1520.
[3] Its number is 9002 and size 555 mm. by 400 mm.

The town defences seem to have been of earth. Two bastions commanded the approach road from the north and the main entrance into the town. Towards this road the flanks are perpendicular to the curtain. On the other sides the angles are obtuse, but, as the bastions are not of regular shape, this feature has little significance. It was just at this time that different systems of engineering held the field in different countries, and a considerable time elapsed before it became apparent to all that the best method of obtaining complete flanking fire in regular fortifications is to place the flank of the bastion at an obtuse angle to the curtain. The perfected system is exemplified by Carisbrooke Castle, which was built by an Italian, Federigo Gianibelli (c. 1600); yet in the time of the Civil War in this country many forts were built with flanks perpendicular to the curtain. It is to be noted that the flanks of the Kronprinsens bastion at Akershus appear to have been so constructed as to give the necessary flanking fire. At the south side of the bastion the flank is at an obtuse angle to the curtain; at the west the flank is perpendicular but, as the curtain itself contains an angle, the same effect has been produced.

TRONDHEIM

A print of 1658, seen in Trondheim Museum in August 1936 and inscribed 'Grundtegning af Trondhjem 1658—af S. Pufendorfs Carl X Gustavs Historie', shows a series of artillery defences stretching from the narrow isthmus at the western end of the town along the bank of the river Nid south-eastwards and extending past the cathedral as far as the bridge called Bybroen. Two large bastions, named 'Munitiones' on the print, flank the approach road and main gate of the town on the isthmus. The defence along the riverside is irregular, since it conforms to the ground, but it contains three bastions, including one which on both sides has its flank forming an obtuse angle with the curtain. The portion of the defences on the south-eastern and eastern side of the cathedral had two large bastions, since this was doubtless a vulnerable point. Two of the four angles between flanks and the curtain are shown with right angles, one is obtuse and one appears to be acute, but this last is probably due to inaccurate drawing.

Another print, which was also hanging in the Museum in 1936, shows the siege of the town by the Danes in 1658 (28th Sept. to 22nd Dec.). This does not agree in all details with the print already described, but it is notable that all the angles between flanks and curtain in the town defences and in the siege works are right angles except a few which are obtuse.

It is probable that all these defences were built principally of earth and soon decayed, since apart from the 'Munitiones' they do not appear on eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century prints. Moreover, a prolonged search from different viewpoints along the riverside failed to locate any portions of the defences except the 'Munitiones' and a short piece of earthwork close to the cathedral.

The 'Munitiones' have been much mutilated. South of the main road to the west, Kongens-gate, only a shapeless mound marks the site of the southern bastion. North of the road, as the remains are still an open space, it is possible to trace the line of the original ditch in front of the northern bastion. It is also clear that a lofty mound running north and south, upwards of 20 ft. high, with a retaining wall at the base, is the much-altered western face of the northern bastion. The highest part of the mound is quite narrow and stands about 3 ft. above the ground immediately to the east. It may well represent the original parapet of the bastion. There is now no trace of the curtain which connected the two bastions, so that it is impossible to be certain that its line was perpendicular to the flanks of the bastions, as the prints show. The whole lay-out of the site, however, agrees with such a suggestion.

East of the cathedral there are the remains of two bastions and three pieces of the adjacent curtain, which can only be the eastern end of the defences, as shown in the prints. The northern bastion, i.e. at the extreme end, now has its point or salient rounded off, but it is 6 ft. high externally and stands 3 or 4 ft. above the level of the ground inside. Both angles between the flanks and the curtain now seem to be right angles; it is one of these angles which the print of 1658 shows as acute, but this, as mentioned above, is probably due to a mistake in the drawing. The other bastion is 8 ft. high externally and 6 ft. internally. It is not possible to be sure of the angles with the curtain, but there are clear traces on the inner slope of the bastion of a banquette or fire-step. This was a common feature of earthen defences of this period.

This town defence is of particular interest for comparison with the defences of various English towns which were erected during the Civil War. There are many plans of these defences, but very few traces remain at the present day, since their usual fate has been absorption by the expanding town. One large bastion and over one hundred yards of curtain remain in a good state of preservation at Carmarthen, and this earthwork seems to be the only example extant in Britain of an earthen town defence constructed

for artillery. A recent survey has been published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*,[1] where the subject is pursued at some length. The Trondheim bastions are smaller than the Carmarthen example.

The writer is particularly indebted to Herr O. F. Hvinden Haug of Oslo for drawing his attention to the illustrations reproduced in this article and for enabling him to obtain copies of them, and also for supplying much of the historical information which is here incorporated.

On account of the war it has been impossible to obtain approval for the reproduction of these plates, but there is no reason to suppose that it would have been withheld, and the author desires to thank the authorities concerned in anticipation.

[1] 1938, pp. 126 ff.

Notes

Perforated Rim-lugs from Friston, Sussex.—Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A.,
and Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., send the following note: In the collection
of objects found near Friston (Sussex) by the late Major Maitland, of
Friston Place, and given to the Sussex Archaeological Society by Mr. A. F.
Maitland, are three curious pottery-rims of an uncommon type. Their

Perforated rim-lugs from Friston

exact provenance and associations are unknown, so that any attempts at
dating must be based on analogy.

In each case part of the lip of a globular hand-made vessel has been
drawn upwards to form a tongue or lug through the middle of which is a
round hole varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. In so far as they have sur-
vived, the rest of the rims of the three vessels appear to have been mildly
everted. The paste in each case is soft and rather soapy, smoother on the
exterior, but gritty in the interior. The flint grits appear to have been
derived from a coarse marine sand or fine shingle, for their surfaces and
edges are worn smooth and glossy, and this applies to those which are
embedded in the clay as well as to those which are exposed. This feature
explains why the pottery feels soft in spite of the large amount of grit it

contains, and it also forms a contrast with the usual harsh flint 'backing' of prehistoric pottery which appears to have been derived from pounded 'pot-boilers'. The vessels also seem to have been less symmetrically formed than those of the late pre-Roman Iron Age.

These 'perforated rim-lugs' are not common, and the following analogous specimens are listed for comparison.

1. Three were found in the Iron Age hill-fort at Hunsbury, Northants., and are now in the Northampton Museum. Two of these are on coarse red vessels with an internal ledge, as if to take a lid; the third belonged to a large vessel of smooth black ware.[1]

2. Another example in the Northampton Museum is of coarser ware, and was found in a barrow at the corner of Abington Rd., Northampton, but there is no record of any associated finds.

3. One example was found at All Cannings Cross, belonging to a large red vessel with tooled surface; the diameter of the hole is $\frac{3}{4}$ in.[2]

4. Another comes from the Glastonbury lake-village, having a hole $\frac{7}{16}$ in. in diameter; the ware is smooth, dark-brownish black.[3]

5. Part of a pot having this perforated projection is figured by Munro as having been found at Corcelettes on Lake Neuchâtel (Switzerland),[4] together with another having a similar projection, but unperforated.[5] An unperforated example from Chichester is said to be in the British Museum.[6]

6. A specimen was found in the *terramare* of Gorzano, near Modena (Italy).[7]

7. From the War Ditches, Cherryhinton, Cambridge (University Museum):[8] blackish, soft paste, typical of local Iron Age ware, and assigned by Sir Cyril Fox to about the middle of the first century A.D. There is a cordon at the base of the neck.

8. From Windsor Road, Cambridge (University Museum): blackish, rather greasy, fairly soft paste; the everted rim is reeded, and the body of the vessel bears a lattice decoration. Below the perforation on the exterior surface is a small projection forming a kind of ladle or spout. The associations are mainly Romano-British sherds and pottery of Iron Age type and probably first century A.D. date; only one sherd might possibly be late Saxon.

9. From Abington Pigotts (Cambs.) come two comparable specimens. One is from a large vessel of coarse, hand-made ware, full of pounded flint, black on section, and black to brownish-yellow on the surface, attributed by Sir Cyril Fox to the Early Iron Age. The loop formed

[1] *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1936), 80, and fig. 8, L5.
[2] M. E. Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, p. 176, and pl. 37, 1.
[3] Bulleid and St. George Gray, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, ii, 519 and fig. 169.
[4] Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe* (1890), p. 56, fig. 11, no. 22.
[5] *Ibid.* no. 21.
[6] *Glastonbury L.V.* ii, 519.
[7] O. Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie* (Stockholm), pl. 18, fig. 20.
[8] For details of specimens nos. 7, 8, and 10 we are indebted to Miss Maureen O'Reilly.

by the perforated rim-lug is defined by deep grooves, and thong-marks appear in the perforation, indicating that the vessel was suspended thereby.[1]

10. The second example from Abington Pigotts is of very hard grey ware; the lug is peaked higher than the other examples, and the rim is thickened and flattened, but not reeded. The principal feature is a very definite spout below the perforation on the exterior face, recalling that from Windsor Rd., Cambridge. This specimen is regarded by Sir Cyril Fox as probably medieval.[2]

Conclusions

Of the examples here listed (counting comparable examples from the same site as one), six are fairly definitely assignable to the Early Iron Age. A seventh, with a spout, is probably of similar date, while one, also with a spout, is almost certainly much later—probably medieval.

As to their purpose, it may be that in this list we have confused two similar but distinct features. No. 9, showing thong-marks, must have served as a means of attachment for suspension by a cord, and the unper-forated rim-lugs from Corcelettes and Chichester can only have served as a form of handle. On the other hand, the two specimens with spouts (nos. 8 and 10) seem to have been designed for pouring out the liquid contents of the vessels.
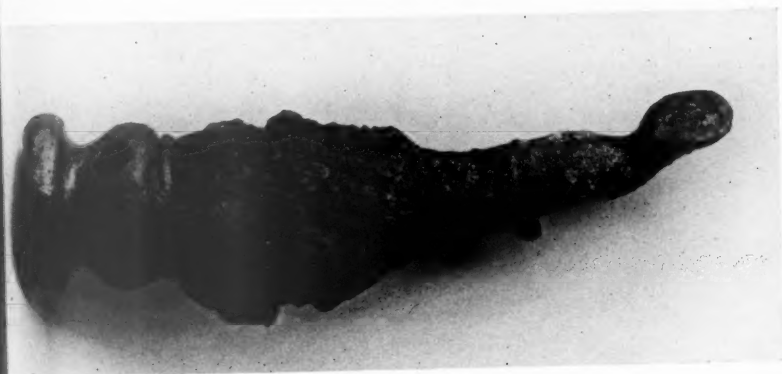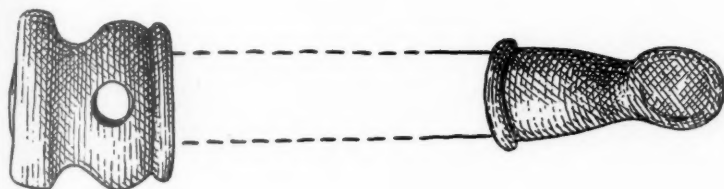
Since going to press, Mr. Guy Maynard has informed us that in excavations carried out by Col. Serrocold and himself on the site at Trebarveth, St. Keverne, Cornwall, in 1925 and again in 1938, and not yet published, a number of perforated rim-lugs with 'spouts' were found in a context which dates them as La Tène I. Mr. Maynard has suggested that the purpose of the spout-like projections may have been to protect the suspending cords from the flames while the vessel was hanging over a fire.

An Iron Age linch-pin of Yorkshire type from Cornwall.—Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins contributes the following:—In an article recently published in the pages of this Journal (xx, 1940, pp. 358–67) I referred to an Iron Age linch-pin of Yorkshire type excavated in 1939 at Trevelgue in Cornwall and now in Truro Museum. Through the courtesy and kindness of Mr. C. K. Croft Andrew and of the Cornwall Excavation Committee I am able to anticipate his interim report of the excavations and to publish an illustration of this important object. I have also to thank Mr. G. Penrose, Curator of the County Museum, Truro, where the finds from Trevelgue have been deposited.

The promontory fort of Trevelgue near Newquay had a long history. It was first occupied earlier than Castle Dore, where the earliest of the three Iron Age levels already contained pottery with curvilinear ornament of Glastonbury type; and it remained in occupation throughout the Roman period. The excavations were unfortunately interrupted by the outbreak of war, but they were sufficient to reveal at least four types of building, one

[1] *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia,* iv (1924), 216–17, fig. 2, C.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 221, fig. 3, J.

Iron Age linch-pin of Yorkshire type from Trevelgue, Cornwall ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Pl. XI

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Iron Age linch-pin from Wigginton Common, near Tring (½)

of them consisting of large circular huts partially sunk into the sloping side of the central hill, with thick walls of earth and small stones faced internally with good dry masonry.

Among the fallen debris of the walls of one of these huts were found together a bronze linch-pin and a miniature bronze terret. They had lain on, or more probably been concealed in, the upper wall, with which they fell when it was demolished in the second century A.D. The debris on the floor of this hut revealed a lengthy occupation, ranging from good curvilinear Glastonbury ware to an *as* of Trajan *c.* A.D. 107; and there is some reason to believe that the house itself may have been built even earlier. On this stratigraphical evidence it is clearly impossible to assign a precise date to the deposition of the linch-pin and terret.

The linch-pin is of the familiar Yorkshire form (pl. x). Typologically it appears to represent a slight advance upon the earliest British specimens. The shape of the head is very similar to that found in the King's Barrow at Arras (*op. cit.* fig. 1, no. 5), but the exaggerated curve of the foot resembles rather that of a far later pin found in the mid-first-century hoard at Stanwick (*op. cit.* fig. 2). The upper surface of the head is much corroded, but it appears to have once borne a simple *triskele* design in relief. In this respect it may be compared with a linch-pin found at Wigginton Common, near Tring, in 1867, which is similarly ornamented in relief on the upper surface and also on one side of the head (pl. xi). This pin has recently come into the possession of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[1] A second specimen, in the same collection, the find-spot of which is not recorded, bears an enamelled *triskele* design similarly placed (F. Henry, 'Émailleurs d'Occident', *Préhistoire*, ii, fig. 9, no. 2). The original Iron Age B settlement in Yorkshire can hardly have taken place after the middle of the third century B.C. (see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v, 1939, 188). On the other hand, the earliest of the surviving chariot-burials represent a stage of the intrusive culture which had already developed well-defined insular peculiarities. Both the horses' bits (*op. cit.* 176–9) and the linch-pins (*Antiq. Journ.* xx, 1940, 359) in the King's Barrow are of types which, though related to continental forms, exhibit features which are only found in the British series. The burial can hardly therefore have taken place before the closing years of the third century and it may well be still later. It would seem to follow that the Trevelgue pin, which represents a slight typological advance, belongs at earliest to the second century B.C.

The argument is not wholly conclusive, for the Yorkshire type of linch-pin had a long life. Specimens were deposited in the first-century A.D. hoards of metal-work at Stanwick and Westhall, and several were found in Boudiccan levels at Colchester. These later pins are generally speaking more elaborate; and in no case does the head retain the precise shape and proportions of the Arras prototype. On the other hand, the enamelled pin in the Ashmolean Museum can hardly precede the first century B.C., and yet it is shaped almost exactly like the Arras pin. It would be unwise on typological

[1] It was formerly in the collection of Sir John Evans. I have to thank Mr. D. B. Harden for bringing it to my notice and the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to publish it.

grounds alone to attempt to define the date of the Trevelgue pin more closely than that it falls within the second or first century B.C.

The terret, with which it was associated, is of a simple character (fig. 1). Apart from a collar, with small knobs, at either end of the bar, it is quite plain. Miniature terrets of the same general character have been found on a number of British sites, but they do not appear to be particularly associated with any special Iron Age culture.
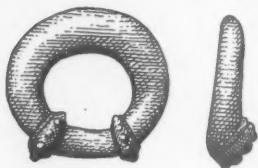

FIG. 1. Bronze terret from Trevelgue, Cornwall ($\frac{1}{1}$)

The chief interest of the find is the occurrence of a specimen of Iron Age fine metal-work of Yorkshire type in a Cornish hill-fort. Bronze-working was practised at Trevelgue itself, and the discovery in the same hut of a bronze link with strong Glastonbury affinities shows that, as might be expected, south-western metal-work types also were current. There is nothing to show whether the Trevelgue linch-pin itself was a product of trade or of local craftsmanship. In either case it is a striking testimony to the pervasive influence of north-eastern metal-work traditions in the British Iron Age (see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v, 1939, 185–90). Not only in Belgic Britain but in the south-west too they were the foundations upon which was laid the achievement of the latest pre-Roman period.

Through the kindness of Mr. T. Sheppard, Director of the Municipal Museums at Hull, I am also able to illustrate (pl. XII) a linch-pin of bronze and iron, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which was found in 1888 with the remains of a chariot-burial during the construction of the Driffield and Market Weighton Railway, between Middleton and Enthorpe stations.[1] The only known particulars of the find, most of which was destroyed by the workmen, are recorded by J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorkshire* (1905), pp. 359–60, and fig. 1022 (taken from a rather inadequate water-colour sketch). It is comparable to the second linch-pin from Stanwick in that the head incorporates a terret-ring, and like it therefore it presumably falls late in the series. A late date is also indicated by the exaggerated crook of the foot. The purpose of the ring at the head of these two specimens is uncertain. It is difficult to see how a pin fastening the hub of the axle could have served to guide any part of the reins or harness. Yet the marked wear visible on the inner surface of this specimen seems to prove that the attribution is correct and that it was in actual contact with the wheel and not merely, for example, the fastening of some junction on the shafts. The ring is probably therefore a purely ornamental feature, made to match the terret-loops which appeared elsewhere on the harness.

An addition also to the published list of linch-pins of the south-eastern type, with crescent-shaped heads, has been brought to my notice by Mr.

[1] This is the pin referred to in my previous article (*Antiq. Journ.* xx, 1940, 358). It was there omitted in error from the check-list, but was included in the distribution-map (*op. cit.* fig. 3). Mr. Sheppard is shortly publishing a fuller account of the find.

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Iron Age linch-pin found between Middleton and
Enthorpe, Yorks., E.R. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Pl. XIII

Norman corbel found at the bottom of the square well, Taunton Castle (*about* ½)

A. D. Passmore. It consists of a plain, much-corroded, iron pin, with the remains of a projecting iron loop. The head is unusually small in relation to the shank. It was found just outside the Iron Age camp of Liddington Castle in Wiltshire, but there is nothing to show that it was contemporary with the earthwork.

In connexion with the loop that appears on this and many other specimens, attention may be called to yet a third type of linch-pin of Romano-British, and possibly also of Iron Age, date. A typical specimen from Brough (*Trans. East Riding Antiq. Soc.* xxviii, Part III, 1939, fig. 10, 8) consists of a plain, iron shank with a small, flattened head, from which projects a hook-shaped loop. The presence of a loop on such a simple, practical object supports the suggestion (*Antiq. Journ.* xx, 1940, 363–4) that the corresponding loop on the crescent-headed pins is functional in character and preceded, rather than was derivative from, the ornamental heads found on several of the more elaborate, early specimens.

Corbel, etc., found at Taunton Castle.—Mr. H. St. George Gray, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Somerset, sends the following note on a carved stone corbel mentioned in the *Antiq. Journ.* x, 156, and discovered in the excavations at Taunton Castle in 1925: This interesting stone head (pl. XIII) has not been previously figured and the accompanying photograph is about $\frac{1}{2}$ linear (the flat part of the corbel measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. along its front edge). It was found at the east end of the inner ward at the bottom of a well 3 ft. 10 in. square (ashlar work). The top of the walling, in its broken-down condition, was 4 ft. below the then surface at the time of its discovery. The bottom of the well, cut into the marl-stone, was reached at a depth of 23 ft. Water was found at about 19 ft. below the surface, the level coinciding with that of the water in the millstream and in the river Tone near by.

Perhaps the chief features of the human male corbel head are the large rolled mustachios; the ends are curled right over, but this is not very clearly seen in the illustration. Unfortunately the mouth and nose also are damaged, but the crudely treated eyes display all the details of the original carving. They stand out from the sockets in considerable relief; the margins of the eyelids are well defined by incised lines; the eyeballs are very prominent especially that on the left side, and the pupils are represented by small but rather deep depressions, evidently drilled by a metal tool. The forehead is damaged, but the eyebrows are indicated by coarse vertical strokes. The ears are rudely represented; the perfect one is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. It is an interesting piece of twelfth-century sculpture, but by no means a work of art.

A near parallel is the head on the corbel-table of the choir at Romsey Abbey (Hants), dated by Mr. Arthur Gardner, F.S.A., as *c.* 1125, and figured by him.[1] A somewhat similar head—part of a complete figure—may be seen at Kilpeck (Hereford) at the side of the chancel arch, *c.* 1140.[2] The eyes of the human head forming an early Gothic roof-boss at Shoreham display the same prominence. The Taunton specimen compares also with

[1] *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (1935), fig. 77, second head from the left.   [2] *Op. cit.* fig. 64.

the stone corbel to be seen on the south-west pinnacle of the consistory court, Lichfield Cathedral.[1]

Associated with the stone head were the remains of at least two wooden buckets built up of staves, and some fragments of Norman pottery (probably

OUTER FACE

INNER FACE

Norman Pottery found at the bottom of the square well, Taunton Castle

of one vessel) having a typical ornament consisting of impressions of diamond or lozenge shape (others being oblong or almost square). One of the larger fragments is here illustrated (right-hand figure). It will be noted that the lines of impressed ornament do not run truly parallel—in fact some of the lines are on the curve, while others are quite straight. This ware is black on the inner and brick-red on the outer face.

For comparison (left-hand figures) two views of another somewhat similar fragment of early medieval pottery are given—a rim-piece, black on the outside and brown on the inner surface, richly ornamented on both faces with impressions of lozenge shape, those on the outer surface being shallower and more regular than those on the inner surface, where the lines of impressions have become somewhat contorted. This interesting piece of pottery was also found in the excavations at Taunton Castle, but not in the square well. Similar pottery was found by the writer at Castle Neroche (Somerset) in 1903,[2] and ware of the same character has been discovered at Old Sarum.[3]

Domestic Wall-paintings, dated 1623, *at Newton, Suffolk.*—The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Essex, sends this and the

[1] Figured in *Anastatic Drawing Society*, 1856.
[2] *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* XLIX, ii, 36, and pl. III, fig. 9.
[3] *Antiq. Journ.* XV, 189, fig. 5, no. 19. Square indentations seem to be commoner than those of diamond or lozenge shape in this type of medieval pottery; but one cannot be sure without examining a good deal of the ware.

Wall-painting, dated 1623, at 'Rogers', Newton, Suffolk: scenes from the life of Samson

following note: Owing to the kind offices of Dr. Grace Griffith I was able to inspect, on 16th August 1940, some remarkable wall-paintings at 'Rogers', a yeoman's house of *c.* 1600, in the parish of Newton, near Sudbury, Suffolk. The house, which stands in an isolated position three-quarters of a mile from the main road, is a timber-framed and plastered building of two storeys with attics and cellars. In one of the rooms the moulded ceiling-beams are exposed, and on the first floor there is an original oak window (now blocked), with moulded mullions having broad fillets, typical of the period.

The paintings are in the principal living-room on the ground floor. This room is 10 ft. in height from floor to ceiling-beams, and 19 ft. long by 19 ft. wide, and although the decoration must have extended originally round the four walls, the portions that have survived are confined to the east and west walls.

That on the east wall owes its existence to a partition having been erected at this end of the room to form a cupboard, at the back of which the painting could be seen, but it was not fully opened to view until a few years ago, when the accretion was removed. Tempered with an oil medium, instead of lime, the colouring is particularly rich in tone, and as the surface has not been injured by whitewash, the painting is, for the most part, in compara-tively good condition. It occupies the upper part of the wall, which is divided by vertical black bands into three panels 4 ft. 4 in. high. There is no trace of a dado, the wall below being covered with modern distemper. The panels are painted with scenes from the life of Samson, and at the top are the following explanatory inscriptions in black letter:

(1) [𝔖amson b]eing denied his wife, burneth their corne, & is bound. he break

(2) eth yᵉ cords & killeth a thousand, carieth away yᵉ gates of yᵉ citie, & is betraied by dalilah)

(3) 𝔖amson being set in yᵉ mids of yᵉ multitude breaketh downe yᵉ temple of dagon & s[l]ayeth them & himselfe

In the first panel (pl. XIV, *a*), two men in the left foreground are apparently intended to represent Samson being urged by his wife's father to take her younger sister instead of her. Farther to the right Samson is depicted bending down and fixing a firebrand between the tails of two foxes; pairs of foxes with brands on fire are also shown, scampering through the standing corn. The Cliff of Etam is seen above, and to the right three men of Judah are carrying Samson to the Philistines; his wrists are bound, and four of the seven locks into which his hair was braided are hanging down. In the left background is a distant view of a city, with its gateway and Gothic church towers rising above the red roofs of the houses.

The second panel (pl. XIV, *b*) shows Samson, with a jawbone in each hand, facing a number of armed men; the foremost carries a circular shield and brandishes a sword, while another is pointing a spear at the Danite hero; several Philistines lie prostrate at his feet. To the extreme right is a large red-brick building having a circular lantern and conical glass roof, through and above which appears the mountain before Hebron, with Samson at the

foot carrying on his shoulders the gates of the city of Gaza. A chequered pavement at the side of the building forms a courtyard, and here Delilah is seated with the head of the sleeping Samson in her lap, whose hair is being cut off by a man. This is in accordance with the Scriptural narrative, but in medieval illuminations Samson's locks are sometimes shorn by Delilah herself. The man's moustache and small square beard follow the Jacobean fashion; while Delilah wears the ruff and closed bodice of that period. The group is being watched by a reclining figure, whose comical face, surmounted by a hat, is peeping round the corner of the building. The middle foreground immediately behind him is set with flowering plants. A distant view of a city appears in the left background, as in the previous panel.

The third panel (pl. xiv, c), the plaster of which suffers from a bulge in the middle, is devoted to the dramatic last scene of Samson's life. The hero is clasping the two pillars supporting the temple at Gaza, which are bending under the strain. In an elevated position beneath the arch connecting the pillars stands a representation of the god, Dagon, with a shield in the right hand and a spear in the left. A medley of men and women is seen in the body of the building, while others are seated on, or falling from, the battlements. In one case a man is clinging to a pinnacle, which is tumbling over; other pinnacles are toppling; and a man is falling headlong into the river, which is shown running between grassy banks, set with one or two trees, in the left background. The pavement in the foreground is strewn with hats.

The wall opposite is broken by a doorway on the left, a fire-place, and a staircase; the painting on this side, therefore, was perforce limited in area, and the greater part, moreover, is practically obliterated. One panel 3 ft. 3 in. in height (fig. 1) on the extreme right, however, has survived in good condition, and owes its preservation to the fact that it was over a doorway at the end of a dark passage, which had been constructed to reduce the size of the room and to shut off the staircase. The passage was destroyed at the same time as the cupboard so that the room now assumes its original proportions. A group of three men is represented: the figure in the centre faces the spectator; the one on the right, with back turned, but looking to the left, carries a red garment over his arm; the third holds a stone(?) in his hand, and his turbaned head is turned to the left. Above, are the concluding words of an inscription: — ﹩ ﹩a[-]ull ⅞˅ ACTS: 7: 56. 1623. From the word 'sa[-]ull' we may infer that verses 56 to 58 of Acts vii ran along the top of the wall from end to end. They read as follows: 'Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul.' There can be no doubt, therefore, that the space (6 ft. by 9 ft.) above the fire-place was painted with a representation of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, but it is almost completely obliterated, and the traces that remain are extremely slight. However, after careful spraying, the four or five persons present agreed that possibly the kneeling figure of the saint and one or two of the executioners could be faintly discerned, with Christ

in glory above. The part of the scene that has survived obviously depicts Saul and two of the witnesses.

A small panel (2 ft. by 2 ft. 8 in.) above the doorway, on the extreme left, shows three persons, but these are in poor condition (fig. 1). Two men, one running, the other with right hand outstretched, are approaching a

FIG. 1. Wall-painting dated 1623, at 'Rogers', Newton: Saul and two witnesses from the Martyrdom of St. Stephen

central figure (partly defaced), which was apparently depicted with extended arms. The black-letter inscription above is indecipherable.

The date '1623' gives a special interest to the paintings. Only ten dated examples of domestic wall-paintings have previously been recorded, the years ranging, with one exception (1657), from 1580 to 1618. The Samson painting is also an important example of its class. Although the walls of houses must have been frequently decorated with series of Biblical scenes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, very few have so far been brought to light, the most noteworthy instances being Tobit and the Angel, at the White Swan Hotel, Stratford-on-Avon; The Prodigal Son, at Knightsland Farm, South Mimms, Herts.; and Dives and Lazarus (dated 1580), at Piddleworth Manor, Hants.

My warm thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Basil Taylor for giving me every facility for examining the paintings in their house, and for permitting photographs to be taken, at personal inconvenience to themselves. I am also indebted to Mr. Taylor for kindly spraying the obliterated painting.

Sixteenth-century Wall-painting at Polstead Hall, Suffolk.—Polstead Hall has at first sight little signs of antiquity, but in a south-east room on the first floor there is an unusually fine wall-painting dating from about the middle of the sixteenth century. It owes its existence to a portion of an earlier structure having been incorporated in the present building, and as it was hidden for many years under canvas, or some kind of protective covering, it is in a remarkable state of preservation. The former owner of the property, the late Mr. Walter Mathews Cooke, told me in 1938 that the painting was discovered about forty or fifty years ago, and since it had not been previously published, I asked and readily obtained his permission to have it photographed. There the matter rested until Mr. Cooke's recent death made it desirable that photographs should be obtained without further delay. I am greatly indebted to Mr. F. A. Girling, of Lawford, for kindly coming to my assistance in these trying times by providing me with a series of admirable photographs, two of which are here reproduced: one, taken under difficulties owing to the narrowness of the room, shows practically the full extent of the painting (pl. xv); the other gives a portion of the design on a larger scale (pl. xvi).

The timber-framed wall on which the painting occurs is about 8 ft. 3 in. in height and 18 ft. in length; and the oak studs, 5 in. wide, are set 8 in. apart. As is frequently the case, the decoration is carried over the studs, which provide a less satisfactory surface for the pigment than the plaster infilling, and in consequence they tend to break up the design; moreover, the plaster panels, owing to shrinkage, are now slightly recessed from the woodwork. But these are comparatively minor defects.

The painting, with one trifling exception, is executed in black on the white surface of the plaster, the background being a solid black; and the general scheme comprises a frieze and filling. The latter is continued down to a modern moulding within a foot or two of the floor level; there is no evidence of a painted skirting.

The frieze, 16 in. in depth, has characteristic Renaissance scrollwork composed of lengths of foliage terminating in dragons, which are separated by an ornamental device. It is bordered at the top and bottom by narrow bands filled with a series of slanting dashes forming a kind of cable pattern—a favourite *motif*. A line of inverted semicircles runs along the outer edge of the upper band. These bands, which are carried out in a dull reddish-brown, provide the only touch of colour.

The main design exhibits the grotesque extravagance of fanciful forms typical of later Renaissance ornament. In the centre is a richly moulded column decorated with masks, on either side of which is a winged human, or semi-human, figure blowing a horn and, seated at the foot, a monkey-like creature. The whole surface is covered with luxuriant scrolls of acanthus foliage tailing off into dragons' heads; standing on or amid these scrolls are

Wall-painting at Polstead Hall, Suffolk: mid-sixteenth century

Photo. by Mr. F. A. Girling

Pl. XVI

Wall-painting at Polstead Hall, Suffolk: details

figures of an archer in a tunic shooting at a winged lion, and a man in armour, both several times repeated. The latter, carrying a shield and brandishing a long sword, faces a dragon's head, above which is a long-billed bird pecking at the shield; another bird is perched on his heavily plumed helmet.

Although the decoration is Italian in character it shows a marked Dutch influence, and it is probable that the artist, in common with numerous English craftsmen of the latter half of the sixteenth century, derived his inspiration from the pattern books of the Low Countries.

Skilfully drawn and of bold conception, the painting is an outstanding example of its class. It has affinities with paintings of a similar date at Elmstead Hall, Essex,[1] and from the Red House, Sproughton, Suffolk (now in Christchurch Museum, Ipswich),[2] both of which are within a dozen miles of Polstead; but in comparison they are confused in design and the drawing is much less virile.

Portion of a basalt hone from North Wales.—Mr. T. D. Kendrick contributes this and the next two notes: The small fragment of a basalt hone illustrated in the accompanying photographs (pl. XVII) was found in the summer of 1940 between Llandudno Junction and Colwyn Bay in North Wales (Lat. 53° 16′ 45″ N., Long. 3° 48′ 30¼″ W.). Its length is 2·8 in. The end is carved with a human mask, and there are incised lines representing the hair, from the back of which hangs a triangular pig-tail of interlace. A swastika and a cruciform marking are scratched on one of the sides. The character of the mask, especially the ear, is Irish, and I suggest that the piece is Irish or Welsh work of the eighth or ninth century A.D. Two related pieces from the Celtic West have already been published: (i) British Museum. From Portsoy, Banffshire. B.M. *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 163 (Mr. Reginald Smith considered this to be a trial-piece and not a hone). (ii) British Museum. From Lough Currane, Ireland. *Antiq. Journ.* vii (1927), p. 323 (Mr. Reginald Smith considered this hone to be twelfth-century work). Outside the Celtic lands the only example known to me of a whetstone with carved masks at the end comes from the Anglo-Saxon ship-burial at Sutton Hoo (*Antiq. Journ*, xx, 1940, pl. XXXI, *a*). Like these three other examples, the new hone from North Wales is also in the British Museum.

Gourd bottles from Sutton Hoo.—In a previous note on the Sutton Hoo discovery I promised to keep the Society informed of any investigations of the finds made after their evacuation. It was not expected that any important work would be undertaken, but it has happened that an isolated package containing some small objects preserved in spirits has been opened, and this gave me the opportunity to photograph the best preserved of the little gourd bottles, and also the ornamental gilt-bronze rim of another. They are here reproduced full-size. It will be noticed that the form of the complete gourd closely recalls that of many Saxon glass vessels, such as the fine pieces from

[1] For illustration see *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xxi (N.S.), 341; and *Arch. Journ.* xciii, 233.
[2] For illustration see *Arch. Journ.* xciii, 237.

Cuddesdon, Oxford, and Broomfield, Essex, or the well-known Faversham series of small jars. The method of attaching the metal rims is also perfectly familiar (cf. Taplow and Faversham), and the zoomorphic ornament is not in an unexpected style. What is surprising is the absence of glass at Sutton

Gourd vessel with metal mount and ornamental rim of a second vessel from Saxon ship-burial, Sutton Hoo ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Hoo (except for the 'hanging-bowl' mosaic fragments in the jewellery) and the use instead of it of an exotic material. It will be interesting to see if the 'wooden' fragments of small vessels of the same kind found at Broomfield are also pieces of gourd.

Dug-out canoes in the British Museum.—The three oak dug-out canoes in the British Museum have not been adequately illustrated, and I take this opportunity of publishing drawings of them lest harm befall them in the war. The canoe at the top of the figure (A) was found in the Lea at Walthamstow and its length is 15 ft. (*Essex Naturalist*, xii, 1901–2, p. 163; *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 1926, p. 147, no. 6). The canoe in the centre of the figure (B) was found during the excavations for the Royal Albert Docks at Woolwich in 1878 and its length is 17 ft. (*Essex Naturalist, id.* p. 164; *Antiq. Journ. id.* p. 148, no. 10). The third canoe (C) was found close to
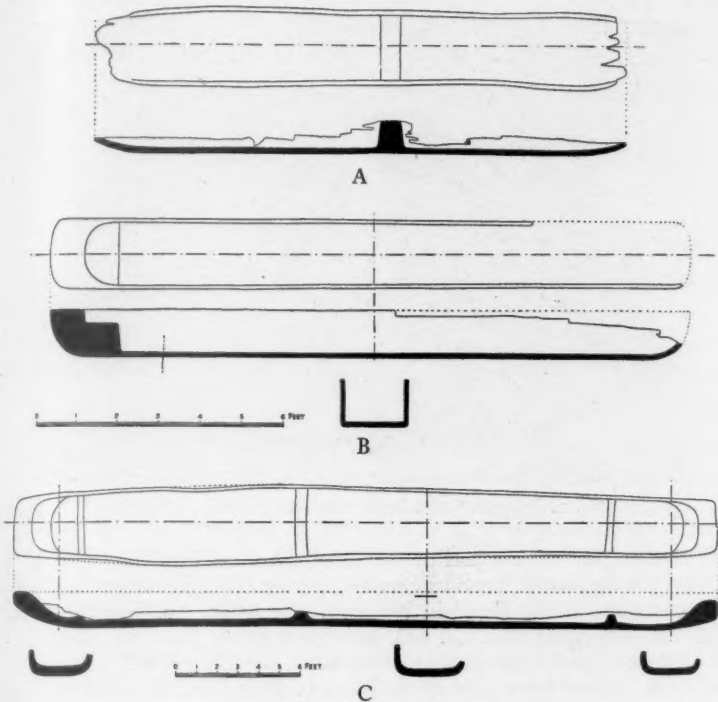
Fragment of carved basalt hone from North Wales (⅓)

Pl. XVIII

Fragment of Saxon cross-head found near Bath

the river Arun at North Stoke, Sussex, in 1834; its length is 35 ft. (*Archaeologia*, xxvi, 1836, p. 257, pl. xxix; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* x, 1858, p. 147; xii, 1860, p. 261; British Museum, *Bronze Age Guide*, 1920, fig. 123; *Antiq. Journ.* id. p. 150, no. 28).

Dug-out canoes in the British Museum

Fragment of a cross-head from Bath.—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, also contributes the following: The fragment of a cross-head of Bath stone from Challcombe Lane, a turning off the Lansdowne road, north-west of Bath, measures 11 in. in the span of the arm and is 6 in. thick. On one face it bears an interlace design and on the other a spiral plant-scroll (pl. xviii); on the edge are rectangular panels that contain rosettes (fig. 1). These ornamental details are severely battered, and they are not all easily recognizable, there being room for some doubt, for instance, about the design in the upper panel of the edge which might conceivably be not a rosette, as I think, but a floral pattern with a pendent bell-shaped flower. The fragment itself is of the same dimensions as another piece of a Saxon cross-head now in the Museum of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution in Queen Square (*Arch. Journ.* iii, 356), though this is morphologically later, having an extremely elegant crescentic profile with pronounced horns (grossly

exaggerated in the drawing) and the corresponding acutely pointed interlace; it is almost certainly of the Ethelwulf or Alfred age (second half of the ninth century). The new find is earlier work, probably of the time of Egbert (early ninth century), and its most interesting feature is the scroll

FIG. 1. Fragment of a Saxon cross-head found near Bath

on the arm, for this suggests the northern ornamental tradition as seen at Otley (Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, fig. 52) and elsewhere. The rosette is also to be found in Northumbrian work, e.g. Hoddam (*ibid.* fig. 51), Thornhill (*ibid.* fig. 68), and Lastingham (*ibid.* fig. 133); but in all these crosses it is absorbed into the Saxon pattern, generally as a central roundel, and nowhere has such an isolated and insistent classicism as here in the neighbourhood of Bath.

Reviews

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford. Royal
Commission on Historical Monuments, England. 10½ × 8¼. Pp. xxxiii +
244 with 216 plates. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1939. £1.1s. net.

This splendid volume, completed before the war but not issued until
near the end of 1939, contains the fullest architectural record of Oxford's
historic buildings that has yet been published. Although the area surveyed
includes the neighbouring villages of Binsey, Wolvercote, Headington,
Cowley, and Iffley which were formerly outside the city boundaries, the
great bulk of the monuments here described lie within the square mile
centred upon All Saints Church, a square mile as packed with architectural
treasures as can be found anywhere in Europe. It may be said at once that
the Commissioners have done justice to this great and familiar heritage of
concentrated beauty with their customary completeness and good judgement.
And if this review is concerned mainly with a critical appreciation of their
work, that should not be held in any way to imply that their achievement
in Oxford is less than what the public has come to expect of the high
standard which the Commissioners have consistently set before it. This
Inventory, like all its predecessors, is a great work well done.

Two hundred and ninety-three monuments, many of them of consider-
able size and complexity, have been listed and described in Oxford, and fifty
of these are recommended as 'especially worthy of preservation'. They
include the cathedral, the older university buildings, twenty colleges, six
parish churches, the castle, and the city wall, and, in spite of all the destruc-
tion which has taken place in the last fifty years, seventeen secular domestic
buildings. It is interesting in passing to compare this last group with the
list of old houses of high architectural merit which the Oxford Architectural
and Historical Society drew up a few years ago on behalf of the Oxford
Preservation Trust.[1] This list contains fifty-nine buildings, to the defence
of which the two Oxford organizations are pledged, and it includes all the
seventeen on the Commissioners' list, and a few others which, being wholly
later in date than 1714, are not described in the present volume. For the
rest, it is perhaps inevitable that the standard of the Commission in this
matter of domestic architecture should be more austere than that of the
local Architectural Society, but there are one or two omissions from the
Commissioners' list which it is difficult to justify even on their own standard.
If, for example, Postmasters' Hall is included, it is hard to see why Grey-
friars should be left out, for the latter requires forty-one lines of description
and three illustrations, while the former needs only eighteen lines and one
illustration. Other houses of obvious merit which are not distinguished as
such by the Commissioners are 3 and 35 Holywell, and 13 and 14 Pembroke
Street. It is also noteworthy that the Commissioners' concentration on the
description of individual buildings leads them to ignore the architectural

[1] *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), 196–201.

significance of groups. No one could tell, for example, from this volume that Holywell contains, particularly on its north side, one of the most remarkable and best preserved stretches of almost continuous seventeenth-century domestic architecture in the country, for no one of these houses has quite satisfied the high standard necessary to find its way on to the select list of buildings regarded as 'especially worthy of preservation'. Yet it would be difficult for anyone to deny that the north side of Holywell as a whole is perhaps even more 'especially worthy of preservation' than some of the single structures which are accorded this distinction by the Commissioners. It is perhaps inevitable, in view of the decision to force the whole of Oxford into one volume, that the description of most of the domestic buildings should be compressed to a degree which renders them of little value and a source of some perplexity to the student. When, for example, we find that almost the only information given about 5 Bath Place is that it is 'partly of stone and partly of two storeys' (p. 182), it takes some moments' research to discover that this is not just a false dichotomy but conceals the hidden meaning that other parts of the house are timber-framed and of three storeys. But even this addition to our knowledge hardly brings 5 Bath Place to life.

No plans are given of any of the houses described except Stone's almshouses and Iffley rectory, and thus this volume provides no evidence for the discussion of local house-types such as Mr. Pantin has attempted with far slighter material than should be here available in his account of the buildings demolished for the extension of the Bodleian Library.[1] Moreover, the description of building materials employed frequently gives no clue to the appearance of a house to-day. The monotonous formula 'the walls are timber-framed and the roofs slate-covered' is applied equally to buildings roofed with Cornish or Welsh slates or the local Cotswold limestone, and to plastered, stuccoed, or rough-cast exteriors as well as to exposed half-timbering, which is not in fact much in evidence in the surviving street architecture of Oxford.

But it is not for its rather disappointing treatment of Oxford's domestic architecture that most readers will study this Inventory, and the university and college buildings, the cathedral and the churches are described, planned, and illustrated on a lavish and satisfying scale. Many of these buildings have, of course, often been described and illustrated before, and of a few there are good plans already published, but nowhere are the details of their architecture and their fittings so fully discussed or so thoroughly and carefully illustrated. In the most familiar buildings the Commissioners have found many features to describe and photograph which will be a revelation even to those who claim to know Oxford well. The splendid series of misericordes at New College, All Souls, and Magdalen, the corbels and roof-bosses of the Chapter House at Christ Church, the medieval glass of New College, Merton, All Souls, and the cathedral, the woodwork and memorial tablets of nearly every church and college chapel, the outstanding examples of Tudor and Stuart plaster decoration which are such a notable

[1] *Oxoniensia*, ii (1937), 171–200.

feature of Oxford's academic and domestic interiors,[1] are all generously illustrated.

A quantity of useful information on the various categories of monuments and on the craftsmen and artists responsible for them has been collected in the Sectional Preface which precedes the Inventory. Some of the subjects, however, are discussed in ways which are not above criticism. Thus the account of the medieval churches of Oxford could have been improved in clarity and accuracy by reference to the classic chapter on the subject in Dr. Salter's *Medieval Oxford*.[2] There were in fact not fifteen but eighteen parish churches in the early middle ages. The list given omits St. Giles and St. John (now Merton College chapel), and the inclusion of St. Michael South Gate among non-parochial chapels is not borne out by early references to its parish. Moreover, it is only possible to accept the statement that all the medieval churches survive except St. Budock, St. Mildred, St. Edward, St. Michael South Gate, and Holy Trinity if we interpret 'survival' widely enough to cover the disappearance of all but a tower in the case of St. Martin Carfax, and complete rebuilding on new lines and a different site in the cases of St. Peter-le-Bailey and St. Clement.

It is disappointing too to find the old problem of the origin of the Oxford college chapel-cum-antechapel plan discussed in such a way as to leave the prevalent confusion on the subject worse confounded. In considering with hesitant favour the claim of the accidentally naveless cruciform church at Merton to be the archetype of this peculiar arrangement the Commissioners do not mention the essential fact that the early antechapels, New College, All Souls, Magdalen, and old Queen's, were all two-bay structures, and thus in no sense transepts at right angles to the chapel proper but simply short aisled naves in alignment with it. It is true that the later antechapels of Oriel and Brasenose are more transeptal in character, but they belong to a late stage when the plan had lost its original architectural significance, and they are in any case small in scale and unsuited to division into two bays. The transition from the earlier to this later form is in fact well illustrated at Wadham (1610–13), where the division into two bays is still retained but the axis of the roof is set as in a transept north and south and not east and west as at New College or All Souls. The chronology of this evolution thus makes it extremely unlikely that the transepts of Merton had anything to do with its beginnings. Moreover, it is not even certain that these transepts were in existence when New College was planned. The arches of the Merton crossing were of course there, and it is urged that the south transept had been begun in the 1360's, but it is by no means certain that the present north transept of 1416–24 ever had a fourteenth-century predecessor, and the drastic remodelling which has given the south transept its present fifteenth-century character may well represent simply the com-

[1] Oxford was evidently an important centre of plaster decoration at this time, and it seems that its craftsmen did not confine themselves to work in the city. At Kennington Manor, Berks., built in 1629, are two ceilings containing plaster designs identical with two of those from the Old Palace and 86 High Street illustrated on pl. 40 of this Inventory.

[2] Oxford Historical Society (1936), 113–31.

pletion of a building which had in its original form never been finished at all. It is therefore quite likely that the alleged model is actually later than its supposed copy, and it is really difficult to understand why anyone ever imagined any connexion between this cruciform building and the essential originality of Wykeham's non-transeptal design at New College.

The absurdity of retaining the year 1714 as the final date for Historical Monuments in the terms of reference of the English Commission is all too well illustrated in the present volume. That the Commissioners should for this reason have to ignore save for a perfunctory notice the existence of the Radcliffe Camera, the Library of Christ Church, and the Codrington Library at All Souls, three of the noblest monuments of the eighteenth century not only in Oxford but in Europe, is an outrage on the public intelligence, made none the more endurable by their heroic resolve to run the risk of surcharge by the Public Auditor for describing in some detail the front quadrangle of Queen's, most of which was built between 1714 and 1760. It is more than time that the English Commission was given the same latitude in this matter as the Welsh Commission already enjoys. It could surely be trusted to make at least as good a use of it.

J. N. L. MYRES

The Iberians of Spain and their Relations with the Aegean World. By
PIERSON DIXON. 7½×4¾. Pp. xii+160. London: Milford, 1940.
8s. 6d.

Iberian civilization as defined by the author arose in the eighth century B.C. in the southern and eastern coastlands of Spain. Under the influence of Phoenician, Greek, and Carthaginian traders and settlers it reached an early flowering in the sixth century and continued to occupy these regions until blotted out by the Roman conquest at the end of the third century. Mr. Dixon in his opening chapter recognizes that the Iberians, who were of African origin, had entered the Peninsula before this period, but a consideration of the earlier phases is excluded by the limits indicated in his title. Within these limits he provides a readable and authoritative summary of the history and antiquities of this people and their relations with their more civilized neighbours to the east. In spite of recent work by Spanish and foreign scholars many aspects of the story remain obscure, but the main outlines, especially in regard to their art, are sufficiently well established. A certain dogmatism and a lack of detailed references is explained by the size of the book and excused by the larger volume which was in the hands of the printers at Madrid in July 1936, a volume which we hope is only postponed.

The second part containing chapters devoted to the various classes of antiquity gives a picture not previously available to English readers, though certain types had been adequately published in our journals. The various schools of vase-painting are discussed and illustrated by well-chosen examples. The sculpture is treated in three different chapters and shorter space is devoted to the ornaments and architecture, the latter including an interesting plan of Azaila and descriptions of the development of that and

other sites. Iberian art is essentially imitative, and except in the ornaments which draw on Phoenician or Punic sources, the main influence is Greek. Imported models or ideas brought back by the numerous mercenaries who served in Greek lands were adopted and made to serve native tastes and needs. Typical of this process is the curved sabre (*machaira*) copied from the domestic knife of Greece, which became the characteristic Iberian weapon, though never put to that purpose in the land of its origin. The stone sculptures of animals form a little-known series of uncertain purpose, though the discovery of one in a chamber tomb at Tugia (p. 116) suggests a connexion with the lions found at the entrance of some Etruscan graves (e.g. the sixth-century Grotta Campana at Veii: cf. the lions by the tomb of Romulus in the Forum), and the suggestion (p. 133) that the Iberian chamber tomb is related to those of Etruria serves to emphasize this possibility.

C. A. R. R.

The Pleasures of London. By JAMES BEEVERELL. Translated and annotated by W. H. Quarrell. 9½ × 6. Pp. 166. London: Privately printed. 1940.

James Beeverell, the compiler of several European travel books that were much used in the eighteenth century and are now very scarce, published his British guide in Paris in 1707 under the title *Délices de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande*. To this work additional notes were added (some of which appear on pp. 17, 32, 49, and 54 of the present translation) and a second edition in eight volumes with 160 illustrations was produced by Van der Aa in Leyden on the accession of George II. These copper-plate engravings, derived in the main from Loggan's larger engravings, were the work of Jan Goeree who was criticized unfavourably by Brunet; nevertheless, a more considered view now prevails that less than a dozen of the copper-plates are faulty. From the second edition of 1727 our Fellow Mr. Quarrell has selected his material and has given us a very pleasing picture of London as Beeverell saw it after its recovery from the Great Pestilence and Fire. For this excellent piece of translation and the accompanying notes the thanks of all who love London are due.

Mr. Quarrell in his Preface does not claim for the author great gifts as a writer, nor does he consider that the guide has any greater merit than usefulness; but it is clear from a close study of his work that Beeverell planned his description with much ingenuity, summarizing his information concisely and making observations of his own in a shrewd and entertaining way. Occasionally he exaggerates, as in the case of the Tower and the physician Hervey, but his admiration is sincere when he writes of the fire-fighting services, the weekly *Gazette*, and the Penny Post. In order that the traveller may miss none of the attractive features in the City, the outskirts, and the country-side, Beeverell has arranged his material in twenty carefully selected sections. With the exception of the illustrations (concerning which there is a line on p. 56) and two lists of members (421 names in all) of the College of Physicians and the Royal Society, Mr. Quarrell has translated the greater part of Beeverell's fourth volume on London and Middlesex: this occupies barely a third of his book. The remainder, according to the design stated in his Preface, is devoted to translations by Walpole and others

of travellers' accounts of London between 1553 and 1670, namely, those of Stephen Perlin and Paul Hentzner in the sixteenth century, and of the Sieur de la Serre and Jorevin de Rochefort in the century following; but here, relying on Grose, from whose *Antiquarian Repertory* of 1809 three of these translations are taken, he has displaced the chronological sequence by the insertion of Queen Mary de Medicis's visit in 1638 amongst those of visitors to London in Tudor times; and there are some other chronological corrections to be made in the dates given on pp. 15, 24 n., 41, 43, 111, and 112. It seems a pity that, whilst omitting the lists of names above mentioned, he has included (on pp. 140–2) Hentzner's list of 'Illustrious Families of England', and 50 pages or more not only on matters concerning England in general, but on such places as Canterbury, Cambridge, Oxford, and Windsor, which have little or no bearing on the 'similarities in the methods and styles' of the five writers in their several accounts of London. In order to discover these similarities greater assistance might have been given to the student than the meagre 'Index of Places' affords. These, however, are minor faults in a work which is a valuable addition to the ever-growing catalogue of books on London.

SIDNEY MADGE.

Handbook of British Chronology. Edited by F. M. POWICKE, with the assistance of CHARLES JOHNSON and W. J. HARTE. 9 × 5¾. Pp. xii + 424. London: Royal Historical Society, 1939. 7s. 6d.

To the student of British history, professor and humble beginner alike, the *Handbook of British Chronology* (Royal Historical Society, 1939) will come as a godsend. It is a handy substitute for a reference library of considerable size and besides taking the place of the books in such a library when they are not readily accessible, points the way to them when fuller information is desired.

The meal is so full that one is tempted to ask for more, but criticism of the scope of the work is entirely disarmed by the frank expression by the editor, Professor F. M. Powicke, of a hope that 'the book as it stands will be so useful as to call for improvement and enlargement' and will ultimately grow into a standard book of reference. The arrangement of the contents is so good as partly to compensate for the heinous sin of lack of an index, the provision of which should be among the first of the promised improvements.

Professor Powicke has secured the assistance of specialists in compiling many of the lists and points out that some of them have the quality of original work which is made known for the first time in this publication.

In the lists of bishops it is difficult to see why the Welsh bishops (at any rate subsequent to the Celtic period) are not included in the province of Canterbury and why no note of explanation is given of their recent separation from that province; and no mention is made of the archbishop of Wales.

The list of 'suffragan' bishops, i.e. bishops *in partibus infidelium* or bishops using the names of Irish or Scottish sees but acting as assistant bishops in English dioceses, is one section which calls for further study and

improvement. Since the time of Stubbs so large a quantity of material has been printed that a full revision of his list is much overdue.

The chapter on the 'Reckonings of time and the beginning of the year' is admirably clear and correct, but there are two places in other chapters (p. 1 and p. 352 note) where the use of the phrase 'new style' gives rise to a misgiving and may lead to a grave misapprehension. In both passages it is used not for the revised calendar of Gregory XIII but for the use of an historical year beginning on 1st January. Although the Gregorian calendar began its year on that date, it was not the first calendar to do so, and to limit the phrase 'new style' to that meaning is incorrect and as applied to dates prior to 1582 is anachronistic.

Despite these criticisms, the book is of great value and all historians owe Professor Powicke a deep debt of gratitude for it.

S. C. R.

Obituary Notice

Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell-Lyte, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., *died 28th October* 1940. Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte was born in 1848; he was admitted to this Society in January 1879, before many of the present Fellows were born; he was Deputy Keeper of the Public Records from 1886 to 1926, and his predecessor was born in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

He was always open to new ideas, and he went by air to Basle on the first stage of his annual holiday when he was ninety years old; but he was in most respects typical of the age to which he belonged. His manner was courteous and dignified; it was unnecessary for him either to praise or blame those who worked under him, as a subtle variation in his manner made it clear whether or not approval was conveyed. He enjoyed public dinners and receptions; but the condition of his attendance was that he should not be called upon to speak. He was slow to anger, but was an able controversialist; on one occasion he got the better of a Royal Commission and made it clear that some of its members in their ardent local patriotism had made statements which the facts of the case did not support.

His four chief works, published at long intervals, reflected his loyalties. He wrote a history of Eton in 1877, of Oxford University in 1886, and of Dunster in 1909; and his book on the Great Seal appeared in 1926. All four combined accurate research and general interest; but possibly owing to the nature of their subjects the *History of Eton College* was the most readable and his *Notes on the Great Seal* made the smallest appeal outside the circle of specialists.

He was devoted to his ancestral county of Somerset; and within a few weeks of his death he was at work transcribing the register of a medieval bishop of Bath and Wells.

His appointment as Deputy Keeper of the Public Records was probably the result of the great ability he showed as an Inspector under the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, for whom he made several Reports and also discovered a valuable collection of manuscripts in a ducal stable.

For the next forty years his life's work was the reorganization of the Public Record Office. Since 1838, when the Public Record Office Act was passed, documents had been continuously transferred to the building in Chancery Lane, some in orderly, others in disorderly collections. By 1886 disorder had the upper hand, and the leeway was considerable. Sir Henry proceeded to evolve system out of confusion by publishing a series of calendars and lists of the classes which were not disarranged and by using the material contained in those series to determine the date and nature of the unsorted material. This twofold process of publication and arrangement is still proceeding. The former need never cease so long as archives accumulate; but the end of the latter is within sight; and it is due to Sir Henry's scholarship and energy that this is the case.

He served on the Council of the Antiquaries and was a Vice-President. He contributed one or two papers, and in earlier days he often used the Library.   C. T. F.

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Phoenicia and Western Asia to the Macedonian Conquest. By Raymond Weill. Trans-
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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 31st *October* 1940, *at* 2.30 *p.m.* Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the Chair.

The President referred to the death of Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell-Lyte, K.C.B., at one time Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, who was elected a Fellow in 1879 and had been a Vice-President of the Society, and moved that a message of condolence be sent to Major Maxwell-Lyte on behalf of the Society.

The motion was carried unanimously, the Fellows signifying their assent by rising in their places.

Sir Cyril Fox, Vice-President, read a paper on Sutton 268: a Bronze Age barrow in Glamorgan.

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